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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Second National Conference
FOR
GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

HELD AT MINNEAPOLIS

DECEMBER 8 AND 10, 1894

AND OF THE
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

AND OF THE
Third National Conference
FOR
GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

HELD AT CLEVELAND

MAY 29, 30 AND 31, 1895

PHILADELPHIA
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

1895
&



INTRODUCTION.

In presenting the Proceedings of the Second and Third National Conferences for Good City Government, held respectively in the cities of Minneapolis and Cleveland, during the past year, the National Municipal League responds to a very general and growing demand for information concerning the municipal conditions of our leading American cities and the principal municipal reform movements. The two meetings were well attended and served to bring together in friendly conference and consultation those who were working along similar lines in various sections of the country. It is not necessary in this connection to indicate how fruitful they were of good and encouraging results. Suffice it to say that they abundantly justified the labor and attention expended upon them.

The Proceedings of the First Conference, held in Philadelphia, had a large sale; and the demand for the volume from libraries, colleges and public speakers showed how deep and widespread was the popular interest in the effort to better American city government;

and the advance orders for the present volume clearly show that this interest has in no wise diminished.

The book contains material of the deepest interest to every municipal reformer, and cannot fail to be of great service to those who approach the subject for the first time with the view of inaugurating a reform movement in their particular vicinity. It is published by the Committee, with the hope that it may prove to be a substantial addition to the growing literature of the subject, and a decided impulse to the movement having for its object the redemption of our American municipalities from the hands of the bosses and spoilsmen.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SECOND
National Conference for Good City Government,
HELD IN
MINNEAPOLIS,
Under the auspices of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
Saturday, December 8, and Monday, December 10, 1894.

Saturday, December 8, 1894, 10.45 A. M.

In the absence of the President, James C. Carter, Esq., of New York, Mr. Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, the First Vice-president, called the Conference to order, at 10.45 A. M., in the following words:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—In meeting here to-day to organize the Second National Conference for Good City Government, in pursuance of the call issued by the National Municipal League, it becomes my duty, as vice-president of that organization, to ask you to come to order.

The National Municipal League is composed of many different associations, located in different cities and pursuing different methods, but having for common objects the purification of municipal politics, the improvement of municipal government and the promotion of good citizenship. In its efforts to assist in attaining these objects one of the methods adopted is that of holding National Conferences from time to time in different parts of the country. The first Conference was held in Philadelphia in January of this year. It was a decided success, and was followed by a remarkable development of public interest and a great increase in the number of re-

form associations and of activity in other lines throughout the United States. The location of this Conference in Minneapolis is largely due to the cordial invitation and earnest wish expressed by your leading citizens.

It is with great regret that I have to announce that our distinguished President, Mr. Carter, has found it impossible to be here. Those who remember the inspiring enthusiasm, the graceful courtesy, exquisite tact and wise counsel with which he presided over the Philadelphia Conference will feel that it will require our united efforts to compensate for his absence. I must also state that in this case, as in others, misfortunes have not come to us singly. Col. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the League, and one of the most able and brilliant writers and speakers in the United States, found to his great disappointment at the last moment that professional engagements of great importance, engagements which he could not honorably ignore, made it impossible for him to be here. Some of you may have had the impression that business was dull in the Eastern States, but I think if you could have read the letters which came to us in response to the very numerous invitations which we issued you would be amazed to find how all the gentlemen are staggering under a load and pressure of business. In nearly every case all we could obtain was a pathetic statement of how the writer was almost rushed to death, accompanied by a few words of good will and good wishes, as remarkable for their brevity as they were for their sympathy and faith in our cause. I think no one could read those letters without feeling the need which we have in this country of men of means and ability who are willing to devote a large portion of their time to something better than the mere making of money. We trust, however, that the unavoidable absence of so many of our Eastern friends and co-laborers will only stimulate you to feel that your interest and intelligence in this cause are amply sufficient to make this Conference, what every Conference should be, a marked advance over its predecessor and a source of encouragement and comfort and great benefit to every American city.

By arrangement of the Local Committee, Mr. George Burnham, Jr., the President of the Municipal League of Philadelphia, will act as Chairman of this Convention; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., Secretary of that League, and also of the National League, will act as Secretary.

I have now the pleasure of introducing Mr. Burnham.

MR. BURNHAM: *Ladies and Gentlemen*:—I thank you heartily for the honor you have conferred upon me, and I wish to say that when I left Philadelphia for this, my first visit to your Northern city, I naturally inquired as to the weather I should find here. I was told that it would be very cold—clear and cold—with the thermometer about ten degrees above

zero, but I find, on the contrary, that the weather here is decidedly mild and pleasant and homelike. But I presume this is either the result of the warmth of your welcome or the delicate attention to us citizens of the South.

Mr. Richardson has so well stated the object of the Conference and its designs and methods that I will not detain you longer; and I will introduce Mr. A. L. Crocker, President of the Board of Trade and Chairman of the Local Committee of Arrangements.

MR. CROCKER: I simply wish to speak on behalf of the Committee on Local Arrangements which laid out the programme here, and to say that last winter it was the privilege of a few Minneapolis gentlemen to attend the meeting at Philadelphia, which was a great success, and which manifested the deep interest of the whole United States in this matter. I am sure I shall not entrench upon your time, but it might be well to state that a year ago at this time a movement was on foot in this city to have a similar Conference to the one which was held in Philadelphia. The Committee had been at work for some weeks preparing a list of names to send invitations to, all over the United States; and in looking up that list we learned of the movement which was being pushed in Philadelphia. The movement here was then abandoned; but when the suggestion of a second Conference came up, Minneapolis naturally desired to have it here, and the reason for it, it might be just as well to state for the benefit of our Eastern friends, was not merely that the legislature of Minnesota is to meet this winter and rearrange and readjust the entire municipal legislation of our State, but going from this city and radiating in every direction, with the metropolis as a focal centre, are lines of influence that cover a vast expanse of the United States. I do not know that I can do better than to quote the words of Dr. Josiah Strong, who, at a dinner speech a few years ago, said: "The United States is dominated by the West; the West is dominated by the Northwest; and the gateway to the Northwest is through these two cities." And when I say that, commercially speaking, it was estimated two years ago that there were five millions of people tributary to this city, and that twenty years hence there will be twenty millions, you can readily understand, gentlemen of the Convention, the prospective value of your meeting here to-day; and I think I may venture to voice the welcome of the five millions of to-day and those who are to follow, in bidding you welcome to the Northwest, trusting that this interchange of views between you of the East and us of the West will be productive of good to us both. I think you cannot fail to be impressed by the magnitude of the welcome thus extended, and now I beg to introduce his Honor, the Mayor, who will express the sentiments of our city. (Applause).

HON. W. H. EUSTIS: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen*:—It is a unique opportunity, and one which we prize and esteem, that the city of Minneapolis should be the second only in being able to greet you to her city. This is the second time that this idea has been discussed in National Conference. We bid you welcome. You have come here, and I understand by the words of a previous speaker, that you have left behind your Bonaparte, but I am glad that you have brought with you your Blucher and your Wellington. (Applause). As in that contest, so in this—it is a contest of ideas. Your implements of warfare differ from those that settled that great battle, but it is none the less a great battle, being fought for the interest and the good of man. You came here, some of you, with the expectation that the thermometer would be forty degrees below zero. That may sometimes be our climate, but our feelings never! We give you welcome at two hundred and twelve Fahrenheit (applause), and for the thought of good government which you represent our welcome will always be at effervescent heat. You come here to set in motion and keep rolling the thought that was started a year ago. No one can tell its future. We are all of us deeply interested in its plan and purpose. Government is a piece of machinery, and you are watching its operation. In the social, as in the physical world, development comes only by careful study and by experience. How many times we have stood and watched a piece of machinery, and we have seen it grow from the sickle to the self-binder. On the side you note the milestones, patented so-and-so, and so-and-so, and such-and-such a date—a long process. So with everything else. On every other piece of machinery that we use to-day in this wonderful age you will find these steps indicating the thought of man. As in the physical or in the material, so in the social world, charters are not stationary; you can go back to the sickle, but I trust we are on the way to the self-binder. Now, it is thought, it is experience, that does that. How do we make our progress in the physical world? There are two classes of people that do it; there are the thinkers, the professors in our schools, the men of brains, the men who give all their thought and all their time to considering the evolution of any question that comes before the public; and then there is the other class, the ones that make the machines in the shops and those that use them. Many of these after dates generally started with the thinker, but you will find many of these patented so-and-so and so-and-so, come from the drivers of the machine and from the man in the shop, coming out of the experience they gained there. One will make a failure there, and another will make a failure here, and they find some way of overcoming it. That is the way of its growth. And just so in connection with these things. We advance this great social machine by thought and by experience.

There are those here that think on the outside, that study these things in theory, that watch them, having only one purpose, and that is the good of man and the advancement of society, the development of the thought, of the heart and of the conscience, of the age in which they live. And then there are others, men that have to do with the practical side, men that have to enforce the laws, men that have to study this and study that—they are the drivers on the machine, they are watching it. The one is primarily thinking what ought to be done and the other is considering largely what can be done. That is just the difference, and yet each one has a thought and a purpose—the good of the community.

Now the nature of this machine which you are here to study in all its details, is the welfare—material, social, intellectual and moral—of the people in our cities. I have no doubt that you will make great progress, and as you make progress, you want to think it out on the one hand and you want to find the weaknesses and frailties on the other hand, and getting together and working for the one purpose, see what can best be accomplished to advance the happiness of man. Don't let our physical and material development run away with our social development. I sometimes think that our charters may be somewhat too stationary. We are not making, and we have not been making, the advance in municipal government that we have been making in the harvest field or in the workshop. Why? The thought, the brain and the conscience of the nation has been given largely to other great questions that had to do, perhaps, with the very life of the country. Those times have passed by. We have more leisure now to study these questions and to give them honest purpose and honest thought, and to see whether or not we can evolve those machines that will make our cities all run symmetrically and eliminate the abuses of those things which hamper and which hinder the growth and happiness of man. Now, that is the object of this, and you are here. I have read somewhere, I think it is an English poet's work, that,

"For forms of government, let fools contest,
That which is best administered is best."

That means, the end of government is the happiness and the good of man. Get that; do not idolize and worship the machine, but see what it will turn out; and when you have got its fruits, and can administer it upon the social and moral and intellectual wants of the people; so administer and so run it as to get out of it happiness and prosperity along these lines. That is the idea; and if that is the idea of the poet, then I endorse his sentiments. Again, I give you, ladies and gentlemen, you who are the pioneers in this movement and this thought which, I trust, will revolutionize the handling

and the management of cities, I give you again most cordial welcome to our cities. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: I call on Prof. Edmund J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, to reply in behalf of the delegates.

PROFESSOR JAMES: As the Vice-president of the National League has said, and as you see doubtless from the programme, Mr. Charles Jerome Bonaparte was expected to make the response to the cordial address of welcome. Only those who know Mr. Bonaparte personally can realize what a loss to our discussions here his absence is. With the widest knowledge of public affairs, he unites a felicity of expression and a directness of discussion which make him an invaluable member of all such assemblies. When the Committee found that he could not come, or rather somewhat after that, they asked me if I would take upon myself the task of filling his place. My position reminded me somewhat of that celebrated physician, Doctor Holmes, if we are allowed to compare small things with great things, who, having been invited to give an address at a time and place at which Mr. Emerson was to appear, and having been asked on his way there whether he was to fill Mr. Emerson's place, he replied: "Fill Mr. Emerson's place? No; no indeed, but I can rattle around in it to the best of my ability." Certainly, the cordial welcome which we have received from the Mayor would make this task easy, even if it were a more difficult one. I think every intelligent citizen in the United States has an interest in the growth of Minneapolis and St. Paul, of this great community, of these Twin Cities, which is quite peculiar; and I am sure that your far-famed hospitality, the beauty of your situation, these magnificent cities combined, is sufficient to render a trip an era in the life of every American citizen who is privileged to come to this place. The National Municipal League has a special reason for meeting at Minneapolis, for in accepting the invitation of your Local Committee, which has been suggested in the remarks of Mr. Crocker, our idea is to do whatever we can to assist in developing the sense of civic responsibility which is beginning to grow in this country as never before. It is our desire to meet wherever we can assist in the development and growth of that idea; and its strategic position in the life of the great Northwest, which this community occupies, is something which does not need even the eloquent words of a Doctor Strong to present to the consideration of an American citizen who knows anything whatever of the growth of this country. There is another thought. We feel that whatever we may be able to bring to this community will have effect entirely beyond its limit, for I am very certain that whatever your ideal of civic duty and responsibility, whatever success you may work out in the field of city government, will have an influence over the whole of this Northwest

territory which must be decisive. Your ideals will, to a very large extent, be the ideals of all the territory tributary to you. We had another reason for accepting this invitation; our first meeting was held in Philadelphia, a city which is, more or less, ring-ridden, a city which has had a more or less unhappy experience in the history of its city government. The business meeting of the League was held last spring in the city of New York, and what the government of the city of New York is the whole world is coming to know. It was our desire to meet in a somewhat purer atmosphere than that which was characteristic of the cities in which we had met before, and we felt that what we had heard about the growth and development and the actual results that had been achieved in the Northwest in making life bearable in these great cities must have resulted, or must have been the outgrowth of a purer civic atmosphere than that in which we had held our previous meetings.

I am sure, sir, that if we shall succeed in bringing to you, in the consideration of your problems, any valuable results, they will be more than compensated by the lessons which we shall take away from here. And however well you may have succeeded under the leadership of your admirable mayor in solving the problems of your city government, we feel, as my friend, Mr. Richardson, expressed to me while in conversation with him the other day, that the growing development of a new sense of civic responsibility in the East, with the crowding out of the elements which has debased our city government at many points in the East, seeking whom they might devour, it behooves you to have your watch fires lighted and your walls manned.

I think it is particularly appropriate that this Committee has asked this Convention to meet in a church. The problem that we are engaged upon is very largely a moral problem. We are going to secure success by solving it through linking our work to every other form of moral progress which may exist in many communities, and certainly in this struggle wherever it has come to the front, the church has occupied a most important place. Perhaps no man in a different position could have done the work that Dr. Parkhurst has done in the city of New York. (Applause). And I am sure that those who have studied this problem can only pray that if such conditions do exist in the city of New York, or if they do prevail in other cities, that many Parkhursts shall be found to rise up and do this work. (Applause). Mr. Mayor, I am sure that we accept your message of welcome very heartily, and we shall show our appreciation of it by making ourselves thoroughly at home in your city during our stay.

THE CHAIRMAN: At the Philadelphia Conference the different cities were called upon to state their conditions. I see that that plan has been wisely

followed by the Committee here. I will now call upon D. F. Simpson, Esq., to speak for Minneapolis.

MR. D. F. SIMPSON: It was only upon the assurance being given me that the delegates to this Convention were more interested in the forms and results of city government in Minneapolis, than in the character of the officials who at the present time occupy the official positions, that I, being a city official, felt at liberty to read a paper on this subject.

Mr. Simpson then read a paper on "The Municipal Condition of Minneapolis." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: While we of the East have been educated in the notion that it is well to concentrate responsibility in single heads, evidently you have succeeded so admirably under the other system that it is not surprising that you should be loath to abandon it. I should like to hear what the sister city of St. Paul has to say on this subject, and I will call on W. H. Lightner, Esq. (Applause).

W. H. Lightner, Esq., read a paper on "The Municipal Condition of St. Paul." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order will be a paper by the Hon. E. J. Blandin, of Cleveland, on the municipal condition of that city, which will be read by Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., Secretary of the National Municipal League.

MR. WOODRUFF: It may be of interest to know that the "Federal" form of government, to which Judge Blandin in his address makes reference, is largely the work of Judge Blandin himself, so that whatever he may have to say upon the subject will come with all the force of one who has been intimately associated with the plan. Professional engagements prevent him from being with us, and he has asked me to read this paper in his place.

Mr. Woodruff then proceeded to read the paper on "The Municipal Condition of Cleveland." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next city to be heard from is Milwaukee, which will be responded to by General Winkler. I beg to present to you General Winkler.

General F. A. Winkler read a paper on "The Municipal Condition of Milwaukee." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: I will call on Prof. J. F. Ficklen, of New Orleans, to speak for that city. (Applause).

PROFESSOR FICKLEN: When I entered this hall to-day and presented my credentials I did not expect to speak. I came rather as a listener from that far-off Crescent City, which I represent. However, I could not let go by the opportunity which was so kindly offered me without saying a few

words about what we are doing in the South, and expressing my general satisfaction at being present at such a meeting as this.

I think it was said of The Crusades that they constituted the first European event. It seems to me that it may be said of these Conventions for Good City Government that they are American, they are neither of the North, of the South, of the East or of the West, and, therefore, I feel a peculiar satisfaction in being here from the far South. I am sure that you will be interested to some extent in anything that I may say. I am sorry that I cannot give so glowing an account of New Orleans as has been given of many cities in the Northwest. I was struck with the very interesting papers that were read here to-day in regard to Minneapolis, St. Paul and Milwaukee. If you were to ask me what we were doing in the South I should say that we have made up our minds that we are going to have a better government (applause), and the officials who are now in office in New Orleans know of our intention. You have doubtless learned from the newspapers that we are stirring up things considerably down there at present. Before I left the city we had already indicted and convicted two of our councilmen (laughter), and we were busy impeaching our mayor (applause and laughter), and we are not done yet (renewed applause and laughter). I believe it was an old justice back in the time of Edward VI or Henry VI who boasted in regard to his own country—England—that more men were hanged there in one year for murder and other crimes than in France in seven years. (Laughter). If that is the test of what a country should be doing, I say, that we can congratulate ourselves in New Orleans. (Laughter).

The Ballot Reform League, the particular organization which I represent as a delegate, is an organization that is trying to strike at the root of the evil in Louisiana. We have other organizations in the city that are indicting the councilmen, impeaching the mayor and doing their best to reform the city government; I will not say from the outside, but trying to improve the present condition of things. The Ballot Reform League hopes to go to the root of the matter by changing the present election laws. In the last legislature certain propositions were made. A bill was drawn up which we did not succeed in passing. It was to establish the Australian ballot. We believe that we can never have a pure election in Louisiana until we have a secret ballot. We believe that the voter must be separated from the crowd; he must be allowed to go into a booth by himself and record his vote; and we believe that until that is accomplished we shall not have struck at the root of this upas tree. The legislature, however, did grant something to us. It offered us an amendment, which has been passed by the people, to take effect in 1896, declaring that no man should be allowed to vote in Louisiana who could not read the constitution in his own lan-

guage. We have a large French population, and we are forced to make a regulation of that sort. Our population is not so homogeneous as that of Massachusetts and some of the Northern States, and we have to take that into consideration. Or, if he cannot read the constitution in his own language, he is required to own two hundred dollars' worth of property, either personal or real.

As to our municipal government, we have a single council and a mayor. Great power has been given to the council in the past, and I cannot, I am sorry to say, give as favorable account of it as some of the gentlemen have given here to-day in regard to the councils in the Northwest. We have found that council particularly open to corruption. About six years ago we started a movement for reform in New Orleans, and in spite of the bosses, and in spite of the taunts cast upon us that we could not defeat the ring, we swept the ring out of existence by a majority of twelve thousand in favor of good government. But no sooner had we put our so-called model council in than we found that corruption began to creep in amongst them. One prominent man who had influence in his ward said that he had always tried to have an honest councilman, but his experience had been that he might have known a man for a long time to be an honest man, but his seat in the council had hardly begun to get warm before he was engaged in some nefarious schemes. One of our prominent papers went so far as to advocate a radical method of procedure. It has even been said that we ought to change our government to something like that of Washington, D. C.; that we ought to be governed by commissioners; that Washington has gotten along so well under that system that we ought to try it, as we had not been getting along at all. What the general result in that direction will be it is very hard to say. We move slowly in the South. Our people are apathetic. It is true that when they are aroused, they act very quickly, but generally it is very hard to arouse them. What the outcome is going to be it is hard to say, but we intend to have a change looking toward good government in our city; and I come as a delegate from the Crescent City to listen to your wisdom here, and carry back as much as I can of guidance and help for the future. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. C. J. Hubbard, of Kansas City, is called for.

MR. HUBBARD: My colleague and myself came to this Conference as delegates from the Municipal Improvement Association of Kansas City, and neither he nor myself came prepared with anything formal to say; in fact, we knew very little of what was expected of us.

Our city government is organized under the general laws of the State. We adopted a new charter in 1889. Under the provisions of the constitution cities may adopt their own charters, but they must have a mayor and

two houses of legislature. That a great many of us have felt to be objectionable, and we are sorry that it was necessary for us to adopt so cumbersome a charter as required by the constitutional provision. However, we have found in the experience of five years that on the whole our charter has worked fairly well. I do not think that we have had any serious shortcomings on the part of our city officials, and certainly no instances of extended corruption. I think on the whole our public affairs are administered in an economical manner. Our taxation is not heavy; we only raise about \$750,000 a year. Our improvements in the way of pavements and sewers are wholly provided for by special taxation. About three years ago we amended our city charter, providing that our city improvements, the paving of streets and nearly all such improvements should be paid for in installments, and that furnished a great relief to our citizens, who found that the method of special taxation was a very serious burden upon their hands. Some other features of our city government are that our police are entirely under the control of Police Commissioners, appointed as follows: The Governor appoints two of the Commissioners from residents of the city; the third commissioner is the Mayor. This system gives our police a very independent position in our city affairs, and we have felt that the police have not been in touch, as they ought to have been, with the interests of our city. Another feature of our government is the Recorder of Voters, an official appointed by the Governor for four years, who has entire charge of the registration of voters and of elections, he appointing the judges and the clerks of the election; the returns are made to him. This was a long step in the direction of giving personal responsibility, accompanied with authority, and it was hoped that it would be a step in the right direction; but some of our more recent experiences have raised very serious questions regarding it. In the last election, which was for county officers—our municipal elections being in the spring, in April—very serious charges were made against the Recorder of Voters, and now we have a contest in the courts and a great deal of feeling over the administration of the office; and it is probable that at the next session of the legislature, this winter, there will be an attempt made to have this provision amended. It is now the study of our citizens whether we were wrong in giving so much responsibility to one man.

The Municipal Improvement Association, which, I suppose, is the Association in which this Conference is most interested, was organized three years ago. It is incorporated. The members composing it, now about thirty, have undertaken to give every assistance in their power to the solution of our municipal difficulties as they arise from time to time, and I am glad to say that I think the Association has been very useful up to the pres-

ent time. The members of it have been active and interested. The amendments to our city charter, passed three years ago, were almost wholly the work of this Association, and the adoption of them was due, I think, directly to the efforts which our Association put forth. Two years ago our Association devised and procured the enactment by the legislature of a park law, very extensive and liberal in its provisions, and we trust that very shortly our city will reap the benefit of that law. It provides for a Board of Park Commissioners, with full powers for the acquirement of lands by special taxation chiefly, and the adornment and maintenance of them.

I wish chiefly to say that we have in Kansas City a body of citizens who are interested in the problems which are before this Conference, and very thoroughly alive and sympathetic with any suggestion which may be made in relation to the improvement of city government, and we shall be happy to contribute from time to time anything that we may be able to do, and to receive any suggestions that may be made here. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. W. G. Low has a message from Mayor Schieren, of Brooklyn.

MR. LOW: I was charged by the Mayor of my city, before I left home, to give a short message in default of his regretted absence. His official duties prevented him from being with us. I was charged to say one thing, that he wanted to reiterate what he mentioned at Philadelphia, as a matter of great importance in city administration, the establishment of a thorough civil service reform system. "Our system," he said, "is working splendidly, is no sham, and is a perfect Godsend to the officials." I simply discharge my duty in delivering his message. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: It is hoped that all will stay and partake of the lunch to be served immediately at the close of this session, and be entertained by the Reception Committee, under the leadership of Mr. J. S. Bradstreet. We hope to make this a very informal and friendly occasion, and we trust that everybody will get acquainted with everybody else. This meeting is adjourned.

Afternoon Session, December 8, 1894, 2.45 P. M.

THE SECRETARY: In the temporary absence of the Chairman I have been asked to call this meeting to order. As there are one or two who desire to continue the interesting discussion of the morning, it was thought best to proceed with it forthwith, before the regular programme of the afternoon.

MR. J. A. MONGER, Superior, Wis.: Superior has not sent its dele-

gates here to instruct this great representative body in the ways of municipal reform. We come to sit at your feet, as children, to gain from your wider experience that wisdom which has been denied to us in our more restricted province.

The City Council of Superior is as yet outwardly honest, but then our city is young, and we may possess possibilities of official misconduct of which as yet we dream not. Hence we desire to be prepared to combat whatever may come, and reform anything that shall need reformation. Our Councilmen are honest by nature—and we have a Citizens' Committee to watch them. But Superior is a growing city, a rapidly growing city, and what the future has in store for us in the way of corruption and boodlism we cannot know, but may only judge by the history of other and older cities. Superior has now a city government pledged to retrenchment and reform; pledged to suppress all forms of municipal extravagance, and pledged to put down with a strong hand what are termed "rake offs;" it is pledged to keep down what, in the language of the political ringster, are called "divvies."

We have a Citizens' Committee composed of the best blood in the community, our most successful business men, and they work in unison with the city fathers and the county officials to cut down expenses and keep taxation within requirements. But Superior is a baby yet, a mere youngster in the sisterhood of cities of this Republic, and what is easy to it now may be more difficult, nay, perhaps impossible, later on, unless we provide against the future now. With the greater development of our resources must come a great influx of population, the advance guard of which is even now flocking thither, bringing in its train all those undesirable elements which have brought about evil conditions in municipal government.

Although government appropriations for the improvement of Superior's harbor facilities amount to only \$700,000 in round numbers, public-spirited private citizens of our city have contributed \$500,000, while the city has issued harbor bonds for harbor work done prior to this year in the sum of nearly \$100,000. The point we desire to make here is this: The whole of this large amount appropriated by the city and by private parties, amounting to the lump sum of \$600,000, has been honestly disbursed and as honestly applied to the purposes for which it was set aside. Now, why was this? Why was there no cry of boodlism, no "rake offs," and no divvies in the handling of this immense sum of money? Because citizens and City Council alike have made it their business to carefully watch for and prevent any crooked schemes for self-gain that might arise or be in contemplation among those doing the work. Is there then any more positive proof needed to show the beneficial effects which flow from the constant

and jealous watchfulness of the people themselves and of their constituted authorities over their public affairs?

Again, Superior has sixty-five miles of graded streets, eighty-five miles of sidewalks, fifty miles of sewers, and a boulevard system extending over fourteen miles; also three large parks, and with all the hundreds of thousands of dollars these have cost no cry of boodlism has been raised, as all the work has been carefully watched and rigidly inspected while being done. (Applause).

THE SECRETARY: I see that Mrs. Bangs, of Duluth, is present, and I hope that she may have something to say in regard to Duluth.

MRS. S. B. BANGS: Since listening to the last speaker, I looked around in vain to see if our Mayor or our ex-Mayor were not present, that he might speak a good word for Duluth, perhaps in the same strain as those spoken of Superior. But I see they are not in the audience, and if I had expected to say a word to-day I could have prepared a long paper on the glories of Duluth. (Applause). We have no Reform Committee in Duluth, but knowing the attitude of the Mayor of the city and the attitude of the leading citizens, I know that in the future a Reform Committee will be organized, and women will be interested in it and the improvement of Duluth. We consider Duluth as the great city at the head of the unsalted sea. (Applause and Laughter).

A DELEGATE: May I ask that Sioux City, Iowa, having done that during the past year that promises something in the near future in the way of municipal reform, be represented by Mr. Mould, who is also a delegate from the Citizens' Committee of that place.

MR. DAVID MOULD: I had not expected to make any report at this time. I will say this, however, that we are deeply interested, deeply concerned in the interest of pure municipal government in Sioux City. The occasion calls for it. We have organized a Citizens' Committee there which is doing admirable work, and they have sent delegates here to learn of you what they may do in the future. The Citizens' Committee is composed of four hundred men, having an Executive Committee of ten men, representing persons of all parties. They work within their own party for the nomination and election of proper officers, and it seems to me that we have accomplished results in this way which we could not have accomplished in any other way, because we have had the good will of all people who are interested in the cause of good municipal government, and their good will has meant a great deal to us; and in all questions concerning municipal affairs the first question asked is, "What does the Citizens' Committee think about it?"

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order, and

Prof. E. W. Bemis, of the University of Chicago, will read a paper on "Some Essentials in the Way of Granting Municipal Franchises."

Dr. E. W. Bemis read a paper on "Some Essentials in the Way of Granting Municipal Franchises." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we can all endorse Dr. Bemis' recommendations. I have the pleasure of introducing Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, who will speak on "Proportional Representation and Municipal Reform."

Dr. J. W. Jenks spoke on "Proportional Representation and Municipal Reform." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure of introducing William G. Low, Esq., of Brooklyn, who will read a paper on "Results Obtained by Voluntary and Temporary Movements."

MR. LOW: I suppose one of the prime requisites of good city government, as in many other things, is honesty. I, therefore, feel it my simple duty to explain a statement upon the programme that I am a member of the "Committee of Seventy." I have had the honor afforded me of taking the place here and reading the paper upon this subject that we had hoped the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Charles Stewart Smith, of New York, would read. Being in the midst of the fight still, after days of consideration, he was finally obliged to give up the hope of coming and speaking to you himself, and I have taken his place and have some of his ammunition, as you will see, embodied in my paper.

Mr. Low then read a paper on "Results Obtained by Voluntary and Temporary Movements." (See *Appendix*).

MR. LOW: I would like to have the privilege of saying a word or two further regarding the paper which I have just read, because of some things which have taken place since the paper was finished. We are in the midst of the fight in New York now, and the very day (Thursday) that I left home important action was taken in the Chamber of Commerce looking to the pressing forward of the work of the "Committee of Seventy," by presenting a bill to the legislature, to make the work of the Lexow Committee extend to every department of the city of New York. Also, since I wrote the paper, a member of the Committee told me that they considered the election as only an incident of their work. They are getting down now, he says, to the real work. The Good Government Clubs organized there have had a special department of work given to them. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps from the encouraging description that Mr. Low has given of what has been done in New York some of us may hope that we will get bad enough to have a similar overturning. I do not refer,

of course, to those immaculate cities of the far Northwest that have already reached millennial conditions. (Laughter).

The next paper is one prepared by Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, on "Municipal Leagues and Good Government Clubs." I regret very much that Mr. Welsh, at the last moment, was obliged to give up his contemplated trip, and I will ask Mr. Charles Richardson to read his paper.

MR. RICHARDSON: I think this paper will have a peculiar interest for this audience, because it has been written in the midst of conditions so entirely different from those of which we have had such interesting descriptions this morning. It is especially unfortunate that Mr. Welsh cannot be here, because no one else can give to his words the earnestness and effectiveness which are so peculiar to him.

Mr. Richardson then read the paper on "Municipal Leagues and Good Government Clubs." (See *Appendix*).

Mr. Burnham here asked to be excused, and called upon Mr. Charles Richardson to preside.

MR. E. H. OZMUN: *Mr. Chairman*: On behalf of the delegation from the Commercial Club of St. Paul, of which I am the chairman, I take pleasure in extending a very cordial and hearty invitation to all delegates and members present to visit our city, St. Paul, and especially to become the guests of the Commercial Club during your attendance on this Conference. On Monday, at 2.30 o'clock, we are going to have a very interesting talk by many of the prominent members of this Convention at the Commercial Club, and we would be very glad to have a large attendance. The Commercial Club is on the corner of Fourth and Minnesota, in the Germania Life Insurance Building.

THE SECRETARY: I desire to suggest the advisability of having the subject of Law Enforcement Societies briefly considered, and as the President of Minneapolis Law Enforcement League is present, I hope we shall hear from him.

MR. W. X. SUDDUTH: The Law Enforcement League of Minneapolis had its incipency in what was the crusade work of a few individuals, beginning in the early part of 1891. The work was directed more especially toward the enforcement of the Sunday Saloon Law, a law which is very well known here for the agitation that its enforcement has brought about. The law is of such a nature that its enforcement is very easy, so far as the procuring of evidence and the securing of a conviction is concerned. The young men who conducted the work, and, by the way, this work has been largely in the hands of young men, found themselves in the early part of their work confronted with severe criticism and much opposition upon the part of the administration of the city. It was spoken of as interfering

with the administration of the city's business; consequently, they felt that they needed the support of the citizens, and a call was sent out through the different churches for the formation of a law enforcement league, which was to support the work of these few individuals. Early in the month of October a dozen or fifteen gentlemen met together with a view to furnishing this moral support, and the result of the work was the formation of the League. We took the name of Law Enforcement League, rather than Law and Order League, because we considered we had an orderly city in the main, and what was wanted to make it more orderly was the enforcement of the laws already existing upon our statute books. We believed that we had sufficient laws, were they rightly enforced, to give us a model city so far as Sunday observance was concerned.

The work was christened early in 1892, with a mass meeting such as has not been held in this city since, nor, as far as I know, before, and the particular reason for this mass meeting was the opposition of the "machine," which had, by a combination with men in both parties, passed an ordinance revoking and denying the right of complaints where infractions of law had taken place. Accordingly, the League called a mass meeting in order to get an expression of the people on the matter. We filled one theatre and three churches, and could have filled more had we had the time to have arranged for other places of meeting. The result was that public sentiment was so aroused that the matter was carried to the Supreme Court, and the new ordinance was declared unconstitutional and the old ordinance reinstated. (Applause).

The next move on the part of the opposition was to appeal the cases in which we had secured conviction, and that was done with a view to gaining time and tiring out the workers in this cause. These cases went to the Supreme Court. They were followed by representatives of the League, which, I must say, contains some of the brightest lights of the legal profession in the city, who have given of their time freely without compensation, for consultation in advising as to the work of the League. These cases were carried to the Supreme Court and the law was declared unconstitutional, and our work was made much easier in that way. The next move on the part of the opposition was to question the jurisdiction of the Municipal Court in the matter as to whether the revocation of the license, which the law makes compulsory upon the second conviction, was within the jurisdiction of the court or not. The Supreme Court has handed down the past summer a decision saying that it is not in the nature of a punishment, but simply carrying out the contract under which the man obtained his license, consequently, it is not only within the jurisdiction of the court, but it is mandatory upon the court when he, a saloonkeeper, violates the ordinance to revoke his license. The work is very plain sailing from now on. All

that is necessary for us to do is simply to see that they are open for business, and we secure a conviction. If we secure a second conviction it is mandatory upon the Municipal Court to revoke the license whether it be worth \$100 or \$1000. It is to be revoked in that case on the findings.

The machinery of the League is vested in the hands of an executive committee of five, and as the work is largely detective work, that committee does all the work. The meetings of the League are held monthly, but as there is very little to give out there is not a large attendance. The citizens have carried its finances right along until the last annual meeting, when we had a surplus in the treasury, notwithstanding the hard times. It is not difficult at all to get young men who are willing to do this work, who are enthusiastic, who feel that they would like to carry into their official and business life the same purity of life that they brought from their homes. (Applause). What is needed on the part of the business men of the city and good citizens is more moral than financial support for these young men. If you can get into your organization, as we have into ours, some of the leading attorneys who are willing to give a few hours of time each month to the consideration of this subject, you can carry your cases. The Law Enforcement League of Minneapolis, so far, has not made one single legal mistake. Its path has been forward and upward and onward from the first, and its work is becoming easier every day by reason of the good judgment and the interest of the attorneys who are connected with the League. There is no reason why this same organization should not carry with it other lines of work, as well as the enforcement of the Sunday law; but we have had our hands in this city full with the enforcement of the Sunday saloon law. It is no easy task; it is no bed of roses for any one to occupy. Sharp and persistent criticism is brought upon those who are willing to sacrifice themselves in the interest of better city government; but it is our intention to go on and broaden out this work. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: We have with us a representative of an organization of which we have all heard, and I think we can hardly do better than to spend the last five minutes of this meeting in listening to Mr. Wm. A. Giles, of the Civic Federation of Chicago. (Applause).

MR. GILES: We are at work in Chicago along the line under discussion at this meeting, in the Civic Federation of Chicago, a non-partisan organization; a union of the men of right thinking of all parties. This Federation has a central council of one hundred men, and an executive committee of sixteen; and thirty-four ward organizations. Each of these ward organizations has six committees, comparatively independent of each other, and working along different lines. The Municipal Committee has charge of the various subjects of municipal reform and of legislation look-

ing to municipal reform. The Philanthropic Committee has taken up the work of the Central Relief Society, the organization which did such very efficient work during the past winter. The Committee on Morals has been making many gamblers feel very unpleasant of late. It has stopped eighty or one hundred public gambling houses, open gambling, at least, in the city of Chicago. (Applause). The Sanitary Committee has done a great deal of good work, especially during the smallpox epidemic last winter, and has done much toward compelling contractors to carry out their contracts in cleaning the alleys and removing the garbage of the city. It has also an Educational Committee and a Committee on Political Action, the work of which is indicated by their names. The Ward Committees have the same organization and the same committees as the central organization. Each of these main committees has four sub-committees devoted to special work along their respective lines. We are organizing a Voters' League in connection with the ward organizations, which, when completed, will embrace at least fifty thousand voters pledged to honest and efficient city government, outside of partisan or other issues, and to the study of our various municipal questions and problems. It has been said that no government can rise very much above the plane of the active participants in politics, therefore I think any work along the line of reform should be in the line of arousing the citizens to more active participation in the work of city government, and arousing public sentiment and leading the people to study these great questions and problems, for they are worthy of study, especially in a city as large as Chicago, which has a rapidly congesting, incongruous and heterogeneous population; and I believe that when the public conscience is once aroused, when the people have come to consider the importance of these questions and thoughtful, patriotic citizens bend their minds to their solution, better times are not far away. These problems are crucial, but I believe upon their right solution hangs not only the welfare of our cities, but of our nation, for the cities in every country are fast becoming the ruling power.

In Chicago we have no special charter, but the government is carried on under the general organic law of the State. While this general law is sufficient for the wants of most of the smaller towns and cities of the State, it is entirely inadequate to cope with the conditions of a city the size of Chicago, having one million and three-quarters inhabitants, or more. Especially do we find this to be the case in the revenue law, and in the iron-clad provisions for separate county, city and town government—three distinct governments, co-ordinate in jurisdiction, an absurd and expensive arrangement, almost as complicated as were the knotty problems of London, which the London County Council, after much labor, seems to have

solved. We hope for some aid and relief in the enactment of a rigid civil service reform law. This seems to be the base on which to operate municipal reform; also in the enactment of a new revenue law, and a corrupt practices act, similar to that in operation in England, and also, I believe, in California, Missouri and some other States in a modified form. We have a strong Convention, organized by the Civic Federation and the various patriotic reform clubs of Chicago, and are now at work on these laws, with considerable hope and reasonable expectation, at least, of their being carried through the next legislature. (Applause).

MR. E. C. GRIDLEY, of Duluth: I crave indulgence for a moment as a representative from Duluth. I came here feeling a deep interest in this meeting, but under circumstances that will not admit of my attending another session, and I desire to submit for the consideration of this organization a question that I deem of vital importance, and I believe is of the highest importance for the consideration of this body. Now, as I understand it, the object of this organization is pure politics, resolved down to its final foundation. Corrupt politics we have enough of, and everybody knows it, municipal and otherwise. Now, I have studied this question for a number of years, and have considered it in its different aspects, and have come to one conclusion—it is this: That American politics must be purified in the near future, or republican government must prove a failure, and in the line of the remarks of the last speaker, municipalities or cities largely control in that regard. There are but two ways to purify American politics. I will name the second first, that is, by enfranchising the ladies. (Applause). I have opposed that all my life, on the stump and otherwise, until within the last two years, and within the last two years I have become a convert to that. (Applause). But I have a remedy that I believe will cover this question, and cover it fully, without enfranchising the ladies (laughter), and for that reason I desire to offer a resolution. I have not had time to carefully prepare it, but I believe that it will be well worth the consideration of this organization. It is this:

Resolved, That this meeting earnestly and urgently recommend that all secret organizations in this land be requested to embody in their obligations, which are necessary for admission to membership, the pledge that the candidate for admission will forego all partisan questions in favor of honesty, and will never vote or lend his influence to secure the advancement to public office of any person whom he has just reason to believe dishonest; and that he will pledge himself to use his influence against the election or appointment to public office of any person whom he has just reason to believe to be dishonest.

Now, I would like, if I have the right, to move the adoption of that resolution. I believe if that is done that it will place four-fifths of the best

citizens of this whole country upon the side of pure politics, so far as their honor goes. I believe that in its effects it would be second only to the Declaration of Independence. I believe that it would ensure pure politics to this country; because if a man were nominated for office who was in any way known to be impure, who was in any way believed to be impure, with that gigantic voting force against him he would have no show whatever, and parties would be that much more careful in their selection of candidates. Now I do not know but this reaches beyond the purposes of this meeting, but it certainly covers the question of pure politics, and pure politics must be an accomplished fact in this country within the next few years or republican government must prove a failure. (Applause). I am willing, for lack of time, and I know I have trespassed, to leave this question for your consideration.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think in these Conferences we have always felt that the consideration and passage of resolutions was rather a difficult question. There are many delegates here who might feel a doubt about their authority to vote on specific resolutions. We have organized these meetings for conference, for the exchange of information, for the discussion of ideas, so that those which are weak or unsound might be blown away by the adverse criticism and the grains of truth remain. I should hardly like, therefore, without first asking the Conference, whether they wished it to be put—to put the motion which the gentleman has made.

A DELEGATE: I think the motion was not seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the motion is not seconded, we will consider this meeting closed. There is no doubt but what the Conference is thoroughly in sympathy with the spirit of the motion and the remarks the gentleman has made. The meeting stands adjourned.

MEETING AT THE LYCEUM THEATRE.

Saturday Evening, December 8, 1894.

Hon. George P. Wilson, representing the Municipal League of Minneapolis, presided and opened the meeting with the following address:

Ladies and Gentlemen:—While I regret that there are so few here to-night, the time has arrived when we ought to begin. We are here for the purpose of hearing a discussion upon a very important topic, in my estimation—the matter of municipal reform.

It seems to be generally conceded that in State and national affairs political parties are political necessities. We have had them ever since the

organization of our government, and so long as it continues, I suppose we will continue to have them; and with the form of government that we have, where the people have different opinions upon questions of public policy, I do not know of any other method by which the will of the majority can be ascertained except through parties and by vote; you know the will of the majority, so expressed, we are in the habit of calling the voice of the people, and we call the voice of the people the voice of God. If so, in the light of recent history, it must be confessed that the decrees of Providence are somewhat fickle—very unlike, surely, if history can be relied upon, the decrees of the Medes and Persians of olden times.

However we may believe in reference to political parties being a necessity in State and national matters, surely they are not indispensable in the administration of municipal affairs, and the reason for this lies right on the surface. I admit that we are all slaves, or nearly all of us, to parties. We are strongly prejudiced and not easily carried away from our party associations, and yet, I would like some one to tell me why it is, or should be, that if "A" and "B" differ upon the question of protection or differ upon the question of money, why these questions should enter into the government of a city? I would like to know, if any one can assign a good reason, why it is that the good men and the good women (because we do not propose to exclude them, nor attempt to exclude them from this work)—why it is that they cannot get together, regardless of their party predilections, and make common cause for the reformation of municipal government in this country. If there is any reason in the world why it should not be, I would like to hear it. We have recently organized a Municipal League in this city—it is still in embryo, but it will appear in due time. In it we provide that the ladies shall be eligible to membership, and as I said I know of no reason why *all* who are interested in municipal reform should not meet together upon a common ground and unite for the purpose of bringing about better administration in municipal government. We know, however, that no matter how good the cause, or how meritorious, it will not get a hearing, it will not be permanent, unless some who feel the burden of reformation resting upon them "blaze away," enter upon the work of instruction and set the people to thinking.

Now, I am not one of the speakers of this evening; I have the very pleasant, and not onerous duty of introducing the gentlemen who will speak to you. There are some gentlemen here who have come from a long distance—from Philadelphia, from New York, from New Orleans, who have no interest in this matter other than the good of the people and the good government of the country. They have come here at the cost of time and of money for the purpose of conferring with our people upon this

very important subject; and I say, as I began, I exceedingly regret that so few of our people are here to-night to listen to the discussion.

Without delaying you further, I will introduce to you Prof. E. J. James, of Philadelphia, Professor of Administration in the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, in the University of Pennsylvania. (Applause).

PROFESSOR JAMES: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen*:—I cannot agree with the Chairman of the evening, that this is not a large audience. If in starting a Municipal League in Minneapolis you should call this a small audience, I think you would be getting your expectations aroused to a much higher standard than the experience in other cities would justify. Since I have been engaged in talking on this subject of Municipal Reform I have come to regard three as a very considerable audience. I think, sir, this must be regarded as an enthusiastic, as well as a large audience.

I feel that I ought to apologize for appearing before you this evening, for I did not know until this morning, when I picked up the programme, that I was expected to take part in the programme of the evening. I make it a practice always to prepare myself as well as I can when I ask people to exercise patience in listening to what I say; but I shall have to crave your indulgence this evening.

What is the present condition of city government in the United States? We are inclined to think sometimes, and it is fair to infer from the remarks that many people make, that city government is in a bad way in every part of the United States, and that in very much the same degree everywhere. I do not think that that is a fair description of the actual state of affairs. Very many of our American cities, particularly our smaller cities, are, I think, well administered, considering the conditions. Many more, I think, are indifferently administered, and I should say only a very few very badly; but of our large cities we may almost turn the statement about, and in the case of our very largest cities there is certainly much to be ashamed of. You all know well what the late investigations into the administration of the city of New York have been bringing forth, and while a great many persons are inclined to say that these things may be true of New York, but are not true of any other place, some others who are entitled to have their opinions, as well as the former, say that it is true of New York to an extraordinary extent merely because New York is the largest city in the country and is the metropolis, and offers the greatest prizes; and in the smaller cities, or nearly all the other cities, we should find something of the same kind if an investigation were conducted along these lines. Without venturing an opinion as to whether this idea be correct or not, I should like to raise the question—why city government in the United States is not

that success which we are in the habit of priding ourselves upon, in regard to most of our political institutions.

I find in studying the subject that there are two reasons in general why our government of great cities is defective. In the first place, the problem in the early days, when the cities began to grow large, say towards the close of the last century, was a comparatively unimportant one. It is true, we had cities of very considerable size, as, for instance, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, before the close of the last century. At the same time, they did not take that place in the general political system of the country or in the general economic system of the country which the cities of to-day do. I am not inclined to think, however, from the best information that I am able to get upon the subject, that those cities were any better administered, if we consider the conditions, than the same cities are to-day. In regard to Philadelphia, for example, of whose history during the last century I am better informed than of other American cities, taking the year 1790 and comparing it with the year 1890, we shall see that the conditions that prevailed in Philadelphia at that time were in many respects worse than those now prevailing, although it was generally acknowledged to be the metropolis of the country. Now, as a matter of fact, people while riding to church on Sunday would stick fast in the mud on the principal streets. No chariot, either two-wheeled or four-wheeled, would stick fast in the mud on that street to-day, though, of course, there is still very much to be desired in the actual cleanliness of the streets. About 1790 yellow fever carried away a very large part of the population—an absolutely inconceivable state of affairs in that city to-day. The water was drawn from wells which were surrounded by cesspools, and the streets were so badly lighted at night that every man had to take a lantern with him, and so poorly watched that a bodyguard was necessary for safety. Now those are some of the conditions of the metropolis and capital of the country only a century ago. There are very many things left to be wished for, but certainly we have made a very great advance along these lines. And what was true of Philadelphia was also true of the large cities of Europe at the same time. The problem then did not attract the attention, not because the cities were better governed, but rather because on the whole it was really an unimportant subject.

In the second place, while this problem grew in importance, beginning with the early part of this century, and while the place the cities occupied in the life of the country became more and more important, and the part that they were to occupy in the economic, industrial and political life of the country became more and more a decisive one; yet at the same time the great political problems which we have been at work upon for the last

century, whether it was possible to extend the realm of free government over a country the size of this and maintain practically the same rights in one part of the country as in another was looming up in ever increasing proportion. This naturally attracted public attention more and more. It has sometimes been said that our fathers were absolutely absorbed by the development of the material resources of the country. There is no doubt, at any rate, that the time devoted to felling forests, bridging our streams and tunneling our mountains did prevent us from giving that attention to local problems which we might otherwise have done. While the question whether the Declaration of Independence was to mean anything in the life of the American people was an open one, as long as we had to fight for such fundamental things it is not surprising that we gave very little attention to local problems. I do not think, therefore, that the present evil state of things has come about through what may be called any particular fault of the American people. It is rather that we have now reached a point in our national development when we can and ought to take up these problems; when we should give to them something of the careful attention and something of the strength which we have given to the solution of our general political problems.

Now how, on the whole, can we expect to help this condition of things, which we all acknowledge, in very many of our cities, at least, to be very bad; and, on the whole, in the great majority, at least, to be an undesirable one? It seems to me that in order to get at the bottom of that fundamental question we must get a clear idea and a clear ideal of what the modern city ought to be. Nothing less than this is going to give us a radical cure for the evils of municipal government. The modern city is, of course, very different from the ancient city, and we can get very little aid from the study of history in this respect. We may study the history of Athens and Rome and other cities of antiquity, but the problems which they had to solve were extremely different from those of our modern cities. The conditions under which they existed were so different that we are really able to draw very few lessons which are of immediate, practical application to our own experiences and our own municipal problems. One thing, however, we might perhaps take from the ancient world, and that is something of the devotion which the Athenian and the Roman felt for the city of which he was a member. The Athenian felt that he owed his duty, not to Greece and not to the Greeks, but to Athens. Under the political conditions of that time, Athens represented to him all there was of government, all there was of political liberty. The development of modern nations has cast into background forever the possibility of developing such cities. No great city of the world to-day absolutely dictates, as it did during the

middle ages and in the ancient world, the destiny of nations. We have gained, therefore, in handing over to a larger unit, the State government, part of these functions; to the nation another part—an opportunity for the city to devote itself to a new set of problems. Athens, at the very height of its glory, was built upon a system of slavery, and the average Athenian lived in a condition which we would consider an outrage on civilization if we found it in the lowest slums of our city. The same thing was true of Rome; the same thing was true of the medieval cities. In a word, the defects which we see in city government to-day are very largely the result of our growing conception of what city government ought to be, and not merely the deterioration of city government as it has been. We are demanding more of cities to-day, in many respects, than has ever before been demanded in the history of the world.

The modern city has as its special function, in the last analysis, the looking after those conditions which make life bearable in the actual daily life of the community. We have handed over to the nation, in this country, the guarantee of our personal liberties. Ever since that clause was put into the Constitution of the United States that provides that, "Every person born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction is a citizen of the United States;" and that other clause, "privileges and immunities of citizens shall not be abridged," we have thrown around the American citizen the ægis of the nation for the protection of all those fundamental personal rights for which our modern civilization has contended, and with these of course our cities, as cities, have nothing to do. We have handed over to our State government, again, the legislation along such general lines as the laws relating to the holding of property, the laws relating to contracts, &c. With that whole sphere, which at one time commanded a great deal of attention in cities, the city to-day has nothing to do. We are left practically free to give our time and attention to the solution of the city problems, which former cities never attempted to solve. As I said before, it was only in this century that the city attempted to have its streets paved; that it attempted to get a good water supply to its citizens (I am speaking of the modern city); that it attempted to look after the sanitary condition of the health of its citizens; that it attempted to see that the tenement-house system, for example, was placed under proper sanitary inspection, &c., &c. The whole view is essentially a modern conception, and now it is to these problems that our modern city can and must give its undivided attention.

The question of how we are to go about this it seems to me is partly a moral and partly an educational one. I do not believe that simply arousing the attention of the people to the importance of the problem is of itself

going to solve it. At the same time I feel that that is a very important and necessary part of the solution of the problem to-day. If we do not draw public attention to it in a serious way, and to the difficulties that surround it, of course we shall make very little progress. It seems to me, therefore, that the very first step is to try to arouse public attention to its importance, and having gotten hold of that, it is quite as necessary for the cities themselves to continue to experiment along all the lines which are characteristic of the life of modern cities. If the citizens of Minneapolis, for example—and I take this city as an example, in spite of the very interesting paper that was read at this morning's session, wherein the conditions of the city were depicted as almost ideal—have solved the principal problems which the speaker mentioned, you are ready to take up new and more difficult ones;—if you have made this first step, you have reason to congratulate yourselves, and you are responsible for taking the next steps to set examples for other communities. Get the conception before the community of Minneapolis and the citizens of Minneapolis that you are not going to rest content until from every quarter of the world men will come here to see and study the system on which you have your streets paved (laughter); the way in which you have them cleaned; the excellent method of collecting and disposing of the garbage, which is characteristic of Minneapolis (laughter); until you see in dry and dusty times the dust is all kept down and cleaned off in such a way as not to interfere with the breathing of citizens who are passing through the streets (laughter); until they come to study how you manage your school system; and how you manage to develop such a magnificent park system; how you manage to exercise such an efficient supervision over the food and provisions of the community; how you organize and manage such an excellent police system; how you manage to get street-car fares at the lowest possible limit with a maximum of accommodation; I say, if you can get this conception, that it is this kind of a city that you want, then I am sure you will have made the first step toward the solution of the problem of city government. For, after all, a good city government will be simply the flower, or the fruit, if you please, of the fundamental conception of what a city ought to be to its citizens. (Prolonged applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: I have the pleasure now of introducing to the audience the Hon. E. S. Warner, of St. Paul, member-elect to the Legislature. (Applause).

HON. E. S. WARNER: *Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen*:—I came here from a sense of duty, and to receive information rather than to impart it. I have had no personal experience in municipal affairs, and am well aware of the fact that what little I may have to say, as compared with the

gentlemen who have made this subject a study and are learned in the arts and sciences, will be of little importance or value.

In this State we are particularly interested in the municipal question to-day, not because this Conference is in session in Minneapolis, but because at the coming session of the Minnesota Legislature we will have to pass a general law for the government of the cities of this State or they will have no legislation. The constitutional amendment which was enacted providing that there shall be no special legislation, is in my mind a very good amendment, and it would not be the worst thing that could happen if we did not receive any legislation for the cities. However, I do believe that if the representatives from the various parts of the State can get fairly together and consider the best interests of the different sections, that a general law can be enacted that will be a benefit to every city in the State. Now, coming up here as a delegate, after listening to the learned and very able paper by your city attorney, I imagined that I could go back to my people in St. Paul and say, "Gentlemen, the question is solved; Minneapolis is a paradise so far as municipal reform is concerned." But like the German Justice of the Peace, that imagination was not carried out, before I heard the gentleman from Cleveland, with his elegant and manly air, give as good reasons why a distinct and separate kind of government was better than the one in vogue at Minneapolis. Then that imagination somewhat vanished. Then when I heard one of the Minneapolis delegates get up and say that there were four or five hundred people arrested during some months upon the Sabbath day for being drunk, I said to myself that I did not think that was as good a form of government as it might be.

Now the question of municipal legislation is one that should receive the attention of every careful, thinking business man. I know in cities having a population of from one hundred thousand to three hundred thousand inhabitants that there is an annual expenditure of money of from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000. The expenditure of so much money deserves the careful thought of careful and honorable men. Now, in St. Paul we expend, taking into account our license fees, something over \$3,000,000 every year. While I do not believe that St. Paul is the worst governed city in the universe, I do believe that there is great room for improvement, and I believe that also with reference to every other city in this State and in other States where there is as much money to be expended. It should be carefully looked after by men who are directly responsible to the people for their acts. In my humble opinion there should be as few heads of departments as possible, and the head of every department should be directly responsible for the acts of that department, and for the results obtained. The opposite to this is the case in St. Paul, and in some other cities which

I have taken some pains to look up. If there is not a place for some man who has a good political following, there is apt to be a place made for him and another department added. That form of government is entirely wrong. Now it is too apt to be the case, so far as my observation has gone, that the man who should be interested in municipal government takes little interest in it; that the non-property holder has more to do with the government of a city than the property holder; sometimes a certain few of the property holders, whom we might call a clique, will surround themselves with various politicians who can control the affairs of the city and will reap the benefit of their extravagance. I believe that in any city there should be an accountant of public affairs who should have charge of the various expenditures of money. I am of the opinion that there could be no better investment for a city than in such an official. I believe we need greater publicity given to the facts and the acts of our officials. I believe that we should at all times know what has been done and what is going to be done, and the reasons given therefor. It often happens that the board of legislation or the board of public works, of St. Paul, will go ahead and do something and the average citizen know nothing about it. It is published, perhaps, in some out of the way newspaper, and he knows nothing of it until it is called to his attention. I believe that there should be the greatest publicity possible given to all acts of municipal legislators.

I further believe that we should have much more stringent laws as to the corrupt use of money in political matters. Ten years ago in this State it happened to be my privilege to represent Blue Earth County in the Legislature, and I believe at that time there was no money used in the election of a United States Senator or in the enactment of laws; but I am reliably informed that it is getting to be a very bad feature, commercially, as well as politically, in this State; and perhaps that is one of the reasons why my St. Paul constituents sent me up here to-night to attend this Reform Convention. I think we should have a Corrupt Practices Act in this State. I would make such an act that would make every committee give in detail the expenditures for their candidates, and following that up by compelling every candidate in office to give in detail his expenditure, making the penalty so severe that it would amount to surrender of office if any money was used to corrupt voters. That is one of the reforms that I think we decidedly need in this State. I also think that we should pay good salaries and have good officers. I was impressed with the remarks of the gentleman from Cleveland; that he would pay the Mayor \$25,000 a year. While perhaps that might be a larger salary than Minneapolis or St. Paul would want to pay, I do believe that the right kind of a Mayor, given proper authority and proper moral support, would save more than three

times \$25,000 in either city. I believe that you should have a man who has the integrity and the ability, and that he should then give his entire and undivided attention to the affairs of the city just as he would if he were the president or managing director of some large mercantile company.

Now the third and most important matter that I think we need in reference to municipal affairs is the moral support of the community in which the official resides. It is a fact that the business man hates to take any part in politics. It is a fact that the good citizen hates to take any part in politics. The ward politician, or the man interested in keeping in power the men he can dictate to or control, is so potent an element in municipal politics that the man who attempts to take any part as against them is very apt to get badly misused; that has been my experience. Some of my business associates, who have accepted nominations, have said to me that that was the last time they would ever take part in a municipal campaign. I say that we need decidedly the moral support and the honest backing of the business and professional men of the municipalities who should take the right kind of an interest in the administration of its affairs. Now I presume in Minneapolis you may get a better moral support than we do in some other cities, but I do not know about that. I happened to be at Duluth during a municipal election, and a gentleman, who is a very good man, said to me that it was almost impossible to get the right kind of men to run for aldermen in Duluth. Now, that is true in St. Paul. It is almost impossible to get the kind of men who ought to act in this capacity and who ought to accept the nomination; and the reason is, they get no salary, and they take the position for what there is in it. Now, for this reason I am in favor of having good salaries, few departments, great publicity given to all their transactions and very stringent laws with reference to the use of money in elections. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker on the programme needs no introduction at my hands to a Minneapolis audience; I refer to Bishop C. H. Fowler. He will speak to you for a short time on the "The City Problem."

BISHOP FOWLER: *Mr. Chairman*:—After the Southern Confederacy had taken on full proportions and towered like a mighty and majestic State among the States of the world, Mr. Lincoln declared that its suppression was a big job. So I look at this problem, this city problem; I am thoroughly persuaded that it is a world problem. It touches every continent under the stars; it has to do with every land; with all its necessities. Every prison pen of cruelty; every plain on which want toils over an ungenerous soil; every victim trampled beneath the heel of oppression; every fugitive fleeing on the earth's surface, is a living element in the city prob-

lem of American cities. For it touches all the earth and all the interests of mankind. We can, therefore, give it attention, not too much for its merits, not too much for our interests involved. Cities are catch basins, into which every pure and impure superabundant thing of refuse matter is thrown. They come from every land and out of every trouble, and from every wrong and from every specimen of outrage, bringing every sort of stupidity and ignorance and prejudice and superstition and need and anguish and poverty, and they pour it all in with the accumulated diseases that have been multiplied and cultivated for forty centuries—and we have the problem to solve.

Once it was my privilege to look at that marvel on our Northwestern Coast, the Muir glacier, up in Alaska, coming down to the sea with a bold, sheer front of from four hundred to eight hundred feet of ice, and stretching for miles along the coast—a marvelous manifestation of some of the movements of nature's forces. Not like the glaciers of the Alps, creeping slowly toward the sea eight or ten feet in a century, but in a style peculiar to this Western continent, along the axis of its greatest movement, pushing forward in the uprising something like the great greyhounds of the North Pacific, one hundred and forty-nine feet every twenty-four hours. That great mass pushing out against the sea, right on and on, through the months of the summer, so that you heard the continual cracking, grinding, thundering and groaning of that mass as it pushed its way toward the sea and was undermined and washed out and broken down by the ocean; and as I stood on the dancing deck of the little steamer, tossed up and down by the waves of the falling mass of ice, I counted one hundred and ninety glaciers, icebergs, floating outward in the sea away from the point of contact; and the thing that impressed me was, how long can this endure? Will this never have an end? How many centuries has this grinding and breaking been going on and whence all this supply? But when we got upon the surface of the glacier and traveled away back on that plain I saw it stretching away miles wide and many miles long, into which poured thirteen distinct streams or tides of ice, coming down as many canons that stretched away in as many different directions into that Arctic region—then I began to get some idea of the vast relay of snow and ice that was probably accumulating with the rocks and avalanches—an accumulated mass of stuff broken down from the mountain side, pushing, pushing, steadily, steadily to the sea, and I wondered then how it was that the ocean itself could prevent itself from being pontooned. Human society is a great glacier—cities are glaciers, human glaciers, into which pour every sort of element, making up a vast deal of product, giving a great burden of work; the consuming, holding, manipulating, dominating forces of the

country, and somehow we must wonder when they will wear out, when the supply will end, and how, if ever, all this process of pushing toward the centres and toward the sea will be continued. But these masses do continue, and they defy alike the sunbeams of the Son of Righteousness and the warm tides of God's infinite love and stand against righteousness and right law; against the best interest of a well-governed city. Somehow this vast supply of force that is poured into the city is kept up and must be handled. It is a big problem; more than that it is a growing problem. (Applause).

You are familiar with the figures, so I will only give you a few. Take the growth of our cities; cities of England and of Germany—growing empires—are growing rapidly; cities of France, even that has a set population, are growing quite rapidly, but the cities of our own land have a marvelous record. As you know, in 1790 there was but one person in thirty in this country that lived in a city of eight thousand inhabitants or larger; in 1800, one in twenty-five; in 1810 and also in 1820 on account of the War of 1812, one in twenty; in 1830, one in sixteen; in 1840, one in twelve; in 1850, one in eight; in 1860, one in six; in 1870, one in five; in 1880, a little more than one-quarter; in 1890, a little less than one-third—one in three. If we continue at the rate of the last decade, in a quarter of a century from to-day more than one-half of all the people of this great Republic will live in the cities, and the government of the republic and the permanence of our liberties will be purely city problems.

In 1800, we had six cities of ten thousand or more people; in 1880, two hundred and eighty-six cities of that size; to-day, three hundred and over—it is a marvelous growth. From 1790 to 1880, ninety years, there was a marvelous increase in the population of the country—I think I can give you the exact figures—twelve fold; but in the population of cities eighty-six fold in the same time. From 1830 to 1880, fifty years, the population increased four fold; the population of cities thirteen fold. In the decade from 1870 to 1880 the population of the country increased thirty per cent.; the population of the cities forty per cent. We are moving into the cities, and the problem for us to settle, if we are to have permanent institutions, is somehow to govern cities.

It is enough to take a man's breath to see how justice is administered in large cities. I sat beside a judge one day who had a well poised mind and an unimpeachable character, and who drew a large salary. It was all new to me—there stood a man in blue, behind him a man with his head bent down. Up there in a box—I could not see his face—and there behind a great barricade of law books sat the little judge with his big spectacles, and he said: "Next," and the policeman took the man by the arm, pushed

him to the front, and the judge looked at him. "Back again? Did he resist? No. 2, what is it?" "Drunk and disorderly." "You go over to the island for ten days." That was all there was of it. Is that freedom? Is that justice? I have no doubt he got as near to the facts as he could get in any other way, but it shows the intense concentrated force with which a city is administrated. It is altogether out of the line of our ordinary liberties. Another man was called. "Yes; what is it?" "Drunk in the street." "Stand up! You don't like strawberries, do you?" the judge said. The man looked down at his nose. "I say, you don't like strawberries? You don't want to have your girls to have any strawberries, do you?" "I like strawberries, and I want my girls to have them." "You like whiskey, now you go over to the island for twenty days and meditate on the difference between strawberries and whiskey." (Laughter). Well, now, that was justice, and mercy, and moral instruction, and political economy, and moral science, and intellectual philosophy combined. (Applause and laughter). So the problems that come to city government are of a very different character from the problems that our fathers inherited, and we need to answer those problems. The influence of the city is enormous. From the beginning, so far as tradition and history is concerned, the city has set the fashions for the country, and the country people, as a rule—I know, because I am a countryman, grew in the country on a farm—are very well pleased to get the fashions from the city, even if they are a little old, for they come a little cheaper. But the city sets the fashions, not only that, but it counts the votes for the country—I wish you would take that in. (Laughter). The great cities decide the issues. As go the great cities, so go the great States, and as go the great States, so goes the nation. So that Congress is a Board of Councilmen, and the United States Senate a Board of Aldermen, and the President of the United States a ward politician. (Applause and laughter). The short piece of walk that has one end down by the front door of the White House has the other end in the slums, and the "boss slugger" dictates who shall rule. Twenty-five years from now, with ten millions of majority in the cities, there will be no question on that proposition. So the problem looms up before us as a growing and imperative problem. There are some other elements of evil in it. Take, for instance, our foreign elements—how they lodge in the cities. Only one-third of our people in all the land are either foreign born or of foreign parentage; but the cities tell a different story. Cincinnati has sixty-three per cent., Cleveland sixty-nine per cent., Boston sixty-three per cent.—that is the home of the Puritans—New York eighty-eight per cent., Chicago ninety-one per cent. Any question about the difficulties of the problem there?

Many years ago Lord Bacon said that the great question of peaceful administration depended upon keeping the people free from poverty; that they must not suffer want, nor be oppressed with unjust taxes, nor be the subjects of despotism, so that they should be uneasy; but he put great emphasis on the poverty of the people; and well we may, for when a man has nothing what does he expect? Why, a revolution may give him something; he has got nothing to lose, and in the squabble he has a chance to acquire something. You cannot expect that man to be efficient in stopping revolution or putting down a mob. If he has no window or door on the street he is absolutely indifferent as to what becomes of the pavement stones; but if he has a door or window on a public street he wants the pavement stones to stay where they are put. Poverty is one of the sources of revolution and disturbance. We have seen something of it in this country. In New York there are seventy thousand people too poor to sit on a jury, voters, too, seventy thousand voters, and the jury law requires only a proprietorship of two hundred dollars' worth of stuff, real or personal.

See what the census of 1890 tells us about the poverty rate. Sixty-six per cent. of the farmers own their own farms, but in the cities of one hundred thousand people only thirty-six per cent. own their own homes, and in cities of over one hundred thousand only twenty-three per cent.; in Boston, eighteen per cent.; in New York, six per cent. Poverty is a hot-bed for revolt, and the cities will have to determine these problems bye-and-bye.

I am not here to make a temperance speech, but there are two or three little things about the special care we have given the saloon accommodations that are worthy of attention. In the whole country we have one saloon for every four hundred and thirty-eight people—that is a pretty good tax for maintaining a saloon. In Boston we have one for every three hundred and twenty-nine; in Cleveland, one for every one hundred and ninety-two; in Chicago, one for every one hundred and seventy-nine; and in New York, one for every one hundred and seventy-one; and in Cincinnati, one for every one hundred and twenty-four—I thought they had two apiece there, but they don't. (Laughter and prolonged applause).

Now, while we are increasing these perils, and you see that the perils increase with the size of the city, I will give you another little item. In 1880 in the United States we had one church for every five hundred and sixteen people. In Boston, one for every sixteen hundred; in Chicago, one for every two thousand and eighty-one people; in New York, one for every twenty-four hundred and sixty-eight people. You see, as the city increases they have less church accommodations. In Chicago the churches in 1840 were one for every one hundred and forty-seven; in 1851, one for every

one thousand and nine people ; in 1862, one for every thirteen hundred and one people ; in 1870, one for every fifteen hundred and ninety-nine people ; in 1880, one for every two thousand and eighty-one people, and, bye-and-bye, when Chicago has taken in all the rest of the State of Illinois it will have one church for a million. (Laughter).

I want to emphasize the enormity of the problem that is upon us—the city problem. Let me suggest a remedy or two—not mere legislation, legislation is good, do not misunderstand me, but that will not do. The law says, “Thou shalt not,” and there it stops until a man has done it in spite of the “Thou shalt not,” and then the law has to do with the overt act ; but, somehow, we must take hold of the source of these acts, and, if possible, correct them. No use dipping roily water out of a roily creek with a leaky bucket ; it may be very well for the lawyers who do the dipping, but I do not think they get any too much ; but what is necessary in the end is somehow or other to go up there to the spring at the head of this roily brook and drive out the herd of swine that are stirring up the fuss—somehow, that must be done. That is the problem before us. Merely good city charters will not do. St. Louis has an almost perfect city charter, as I understand ; it is modeled after the general government. It has its departments defined carefully and specifically, and responsibility is fixed. It has this modification, that the nominations of the mayor must be confirmed by the board of aldermen ; and yet the St. Louis government is wholly dependent upon the integrity and vigor and executive ability of the administrator. Brooklyn has a city charter very much like St. Louis—almost a rival to it, differing chiefly in one point, viz. : that the appointing power is exclusively in the mayor, so that the responsibility is fixed upon him, and under Mayor Low they had an almost perfect government ; but under the last mayor the tide reached the low water mark, and demonstrated to the wondering people of this government how bad a city government might be, even with a personally good man as mayor, under an almost perfect city charter. You may take one of Keely’s prescriptions and give it to a drunkard, but if he keeps it doubled up in his vest pocket it will never do him any good. You have got to apply it with vigor and let him have the benefit of it in its activity before it will come to anything. You have got to have a man, an executive officer, with integrity, if possible, but with executive ability at all costs. I want to emphasize that apparent “left-hander.” When we hire an executive officer we want one to reach results. “A blunder,” Napoleon Bonaparte said, “is the worst of crimes ; an executive officer can do no worse thing than to blunder.” The drunken surgeon who cut off the wounded soldier’s good leg, and let him bleed to death through the undressed wounds of the other leg, butchered him in

spite of his good intentions, just as much as if he had intended to butcher him. You must have, somehow, men that will know how to do the work.

But now let me come to the principal element in our need. I want to state to you that there is but one good mayor that I know of in all the cities in this Republic. I am going to name him. I do not want an appointment, so I can afford to name him. His name is "public opinion." He is the only mayor that does the work rightly. Your good legislation and your good charters are good in their way, but they are as helpless as bits of paper, unless you have not only a good executive officer, but a good public opinion to stand around the good executive officers and give them to understand that they have the backing and moral support of the community. (Applause). It does not seem to me exactly fair play the way we treat our public officers. We think we do enormously when we put on a spasm and go out to the polls and vote, after enough of us have registered to elect a good man; then we turn our backs on him and never see him again, and let every thief and every saloonkeeper and every gambler, and everybody with a hatchet to grind and everybody that wants a contract, and everybody that wants to rob the public, swarm around him and talk to him. He sees nobody else, and we expect him to stand alone all the time against this great crowd, when we ought to be up there and standing by him, and make him know that somewhere within the bounds of the corporation there are people that believe in righteousness, and dare to say so. Public opinion is the mayor. (Applause). It is a queer, shadowy, impalpable something, towering to the very stars, almost mounting the throne of the universe; the only force that can by any chance compete with the Almighty God for the dominion of the world. Back of all the empires, and under all the thrones, around all the city governments, and in all the public laws. The unwritten law of England is public opinion, that has been maturing through the centuries. It is public opinion that determines what can and what cannot be done. There used to be in certain States the "Force Law" against cruelty to slaves, and judge and prosecuting attorney and all the parties interested "chipped in" to pay the value of an obstreperous and dangerous negro, that he might be burned as an object lesson to the other negroes. It was impossible to execute the law. You have got to have a public opinion that will make your law vital, and you and I are to do that work. It is for us to make public opinion, and these newspaper men—we sometimes sit off and abuse the newspaper men because they do this and do that—run a newspaper just the same as you run your shoe store or your dry goods house, or any other business office. They run it for money; they run it to make something out of it. A daily newspaper is not a missionary institution and don't pretend to be. (Laugh-

ter). And it has just as good a right to run for money as you have to run your store for money. And if they put curious things in, and things that we do not pretend to want, it is because the great bulk of the public opinion is that way, and they will pay for that when they will not pay for other things. So what we need to do is to stand around these men also and help them to make public sentiment, and not to stand off with our robes of righteousness wrapped around us, claiming that we cannot possibly enter into these things and that they must take the brunt. Let us go in and take our even share of the struggles, and we will have a good government. (Prolonged applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker that I have to introduce is Prof. J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University. (Applause).

PROF. JEREMIAH W. JENKS: The one thing about this Conference that has impressed me more than any other is the general optimistic tone of all the papers and of all the addresses that have been made. Last year, at Philadelphia, the speakers seemed to vie with one another in telling big stories, I regret to say true stories, of the bold, bad men that were running the city governments of Philadelphia, New York, Boston and other cities. When Mr. MacVeagh, of Chicago, said that the government of that city, while not all that might be desired, was, nevertheless, fairly good, he aroused the envy of nearly all the other speakers there, and from that time on he was referred to continually as "the speaker from the good city in the West." Now, here, to-day the tone of the addresses has been quite different. We, of course, have heard of some places that are practically perfect now, although it is feared that they will not remain so in the future. Nearly all of the speakers have said something to this effect, that while their governments were not now perfect, and there was much to be desired, nevertheless, they were fairly good, and they were reasonably well satisfied with them. We were even told by the speaker from New Orleans, in a cheerful and smiling way, that they had convicted four of their City Councilmen, and they were now impeaching their Mayor. (Laughter). And I think he ought to have been cheerful about it. It is only a week or two since I was reading the advance sheets of a pamphlet that will appear in the course of a few days. I am sure the author will pardon me for making public some of those ideas first. He said that full prisons and full poor-houses were commonly considered a bad sign. On the contrary, it is the best sign in any community. It did not mean that there were more crimes than before, but that there was better public opinion. It did not mean that there were more paupers than there had been before, but that the standard of life had so raised that the people insisted upon taking care of people when they were only moderately poor; and so when we hear from New

Orleans that they have indicted and convicted some of their aldermen it does not mean that that city government is worse than it has been before, but that the general public opinion is much higher and better than it had been before, and so we ought to congratulate the gentleman from New Orleans.

I think that I should say a word with reference to some of the smaller cities. I was told to-day by one of the representatives here from one of the smaller cities that a great deal of attention was given to the large cities, and it was generally thought that the smaller cities did not need any attention. One of the speakers of this evening has said that the government of the small cities is in the main good. The representative from the city of which I am speaking said to me that they had a ring that was equal to the Tammany ring; and I may say that I have had the good fortune to live in a small city of about twelve thousand inhabitants, and that within the last twelve months we have indicted one of the leading men of the city for corruption in city government, and he now stands indicted on five other counts. I hope that he will be convicted and put where he belongs.

It seems to me that there is good reason for the cheerful tone. When I first heard it this morning I thought that it was due, perhaps, to the locality here, or something in the enterprise of these people, that made us feel better; but I am inclined to think that it is the influence of the last election; that Tammany was snowed under; and that the corrupt men in the different cities are under indictment. There is danger, nevertheless, in our feeling so optimistic. No one could agree more heartily than do I with the words which have just been spoken with reference to public opinion. Nevertheless, it seems to me we must go one step further with reference to public opinion. What is public opinion? It is the opinion of you and of me and of all of us as individuals, and there can be no doubt about it that our opinions are variable; that our opinions are not permanent, and that the opinions of the different classes in the community cannot always be relied upon. There are some good people in every community. We wish there were more. There are some bad people; and very, very many indifferent people in every community, and there always will be, I fear. There is, nevertheless, this that can be done. We must do something to make the people less indifferent. That can be done in part by this Conference telling these stories of the bad things that have been done by the bad men in the bad cities. That is one way, and a good way; but, nevertheless, I think we must go further and we must attempt to make people know more about what the problems of government are and what some of the remedies are. That cannot be taught at the present day to any very great extent to business men or to adults. They are too busy to

give it attention, and they will not give it attention to any great extent except in times of crisis. It is always true that in times of crisis, for example, the War of the Rebellion in the United States, every man is a patriot. There are no indifferent people then. And so when corruption becomes too bad in our great cities then there are many good patriotic citizens willing to sacrifice much for good government. But in ordinary times that is not true; in ordinary times we are all concerned in our own business, and it will always be true unless we know more instinctively, and from early training, about what is going on.

I was told about an hour ago by a wise and good friend of mine, a mother who knows what a mother's influence can and ought to be, that we reformers began at the wrong end. She said: "You ought to begin with the children; train them right and you will have no trouble with your city government." Now, I suppose, as a teacher, I ought to be allowed to talk "shop" a little. I quite agree with what this mother said. It seems to me that much can be done, and much more can be done than now is done, in the way of teaching, not merely patriotism, but methods of citizenship in our public schools and in our colleges. I have the pleasure of telling classes of young men from year to year all of the bad stories about city government that I can gather up. I also try to teach them about the methods that will reform; and, most of all, try so to interest them in politics that they will pay attention to what is going on in public life. I think that much can be done in this way in the public schools. We have heard a great deal about the teachers in the cities with reference to teaching patriotism in our public schools. We find that in nearly all our cities now, each school-house has its flag, and this flag is raised on every important anniversary of the nation. That is right and that is good, but at the same time it is very little. It is not enough to believe that our nation is the greatest, the richest and the best nation in the world. In the schools of Germany the children are taught patriotism continually, but, I think, in the wrong way. They are taught to believe, if I may judge from conversations with those who have grown older, that the German army can whip any other army in the world. That is supposed to be patriotism. That is one kind of patriotism, but not the best kind. I think we ought not to conceal from our young men the fact that our government is not perfect. The spirit that we should instill into their minds is not that our government is the best there is in the world; the spirit ought rather to be that it must be made the best there is in the world; and it can be made that only by showing them what it is now, as a matter of fact, and how it can be improved. I think we can do something in that way, and if we can so train our children that when they grow older they know what is going

on, it will be a much easier matter to get them to pay attention and to take an interest in public affairs than it is to teach the adults and the older men of the present generation.

We can do other things, perhaps, in the way of organizing our government better. We can follow the many suggestions that have been made to-day and this evening, all of which are good, and we must follow those suggestions for our present needs. But looking ahead to the future, and as I think we must look ahead, we can do very much by attempting to train and train well, and when we once get a public opinion started in the right way, then it seems to me that it will be less and less frequently the case that we shall need a prophet to call the lightning down from heaven; we can feel rather that we shall have the sunshine that comes from good opinions and good public motives, continually vivifying and strengthening all that is best and good in city government. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: I take great pleasure in introducing Prof. Maria B. Sanford, of the University of Minnesota, and President of the Women's Improvement League of Minneapolis, who will speak on "Woman's Work in Reform." (Applause).

PROF. SANFORD: It has been accepted as true in the West, and if we may credit report, in the East also, that man needs the help of woman in his struggle for a purer political and social life. The aid that she can give is not merely added numbers, valuable as each earnest soul may be against the dead weight of indifference and selfishness; a live woman not only counts for one more in the ranks of the reformers, but she brings to the work unique and peculiar gifts and advantages.

Women are for the most part untrammelled by the thousand and one obligations and interests of politics and business which hinder and too often paralyze the actions of men. We are not candidates for office, present or prospective, and so we can without fear or favor stand for what we think is right. It may be necessary for the man who is to act to weigh what this man will think and that man will say, and what twistings and turnings may be necessary to avoid the thrusts of one or secure the support of another, but it is well to have by his side a woman who knows so little of these necessities that she keeps her eye steadily on what is right and just. Then, too, having had less experience of the practical difficulties of reform she is more hopeful of success, and by that very hopefulness may often win, where those who know more would have failed. Have you never seen the enthusiastic faith of a woman unite in support of some good cause men whom you would never have dared to ask to work together? And have you not seen her presence and her faith stop the mouth of the cavalier and loose for very shame the purse strings of the narrow and the selfish? Then,

too, women are I believe by nature, and as the result of their life experience, more patient and persistent under the petty discouragements which wear out the heart and hope of the reformer and make him exclaim in despair,

"Let the long contention cease;
Geese are swans and swans are geese;
Let them have it how they will,
I am tired; best be still."

A man will shoulder a weight of difficulty and responsibility a woman would not dare to touch, but he can learn of her that enduring courage, which is "the crowning quality." She brings to his calm judgment her quick sympathy, to his methodical skill her clear insight, to his strength her conscience.

I will not speak of her influence, though I believe that man spoke the truth who said that if the women of this city were united upon any reform the men would surely put it through at once. In this work of Municipal Reform, which calls us together to-day, there are practical lines along which women may be especially helpful. Some of the worst evils of mis-governed cities are simply poor housekeeping on a large scale. Who can so readily, as women, see and correct these faults? She has had long experience in ferreting out the haunts of uncleanness, and she discerns, with quick insight, the holes and corners and dark recesses where filth and disease lurk. She knows where to look for dirt and degredation, and she knows how to make thorough work with vermin and with *vice*. A practical housekeeper would put baths into the crowded sections of our cities; she would let the sunlight into the dark abodes of sin and misery, for she knows there is nothing so costly, not only in character, in life, but in money even, as these pest-houses of physical and moral disease. For these and many other matters of practical reform, especially that which concern the prevention of crime by the protection and right training of helpless children, woman is especially fitted. The value of pure air, the need of precaution against disease, the necessity of cleanliness in every form, the power of duty as a means of social and moral elevation, it is her privilege and duty to keep before the people. To this work the way is open; no woman undertakes in earnest to help along any line but she gets a welcome, hearty and sincere, from her brothers already in the field.

Perhaps we in Minneapolis are especially favored in this regard, but I appeal to my fellow-workers in other lines, if you have not felt as we of the Improvement League have done, that by the enthusiastic support you have received from the men of our city in every way, and especially through the

press, that your work has been doubled and trebled in efficiency. The question is, how have we entered into this inheritance of opportunity and privilege? Do we feel the obligation resting upon us, and are we filling the place that waits our presence and effort? Far be it from me to under-rate the work that woman is doing and has done. The tender charity of the kindergarten, the noble work of the Friendly Visitors, the brave efforts to save the tempted and rescue the fallen, the work for temperance, for the prisoner and the helpless—the catalogue is long and bright, of the lines of work in which the Daughters of the King are, under one or another name, taking rank with the reformers. But have we been alive, as we ought to be, to our civic duties? Should we not, while we do not relax our efforts in other lines, keep this duty also near to our heart? Should we not give to the aid of those who would save our cities from all that is degrading, the irresistible strength of our influence, the uplift of our sympathy, whose birthright it is to make beauty, and to spread everywhere sweetness and purity and love? (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: I now have the pleasure of introducing David Mould, Esq., of Sioux City, Iowa.

MR. DAVID MOULD: I am somewhat like my friend, Prof. Jenks, in one respect; only more so. He did not know that he was expected to speak here to-night until this morning; I did not know until after dinner; but I have the advantage of him in one respect, and that is that my name is not on the printed programme, and, therefore, I think you will not expect much from me. I do not believe that you want to; but, in this connection, I am forcibly reminded of the old philosopher, who said: "Blessed be they who expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed." Now, we do not want you to think, friends, because we are delegates of municipal reform associations from different parts of the country that we are a set of impracticable theorists who are seeking after the unattainable. Most of us are men who are busily engaged in business or in professional work, who see the evils in politics, and who are seeking earnestly to find a remedy for their removal, and we believe that a remedy can be found. Neither are we pessimists or alarmists simply because evils exist in our municipal government, simply because things are not what they might be. But we believe firmly that the time has come when the attention of our people should be called to these existing municipal evils in a manner in which they have not been called heretofore; that if we allow things to drift, if we allow our private business or our professional work to take the foremost place in our attention, that these evils will grow, and they may become serious evils, involving not only great private loss, but serious political difficulties. I am one who believes that the majority, a large majority, if you please, of the

American citizens are honest; that a large majority of them are endeavoring to perform their duties as best they can, and that being the case, how does it come that in the city where the majority rules that these municipal evils exist? We have proof of what the American citizen can do. All that the American citizens have to say to organized corruption is, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther," and organized corruption will cease. We have seen it in New York; we saw it formerly in Brooklyn, and in numerous other cities over the country. We see that when the American people are once aroused there is no trouble in curing the evils from which they are suffering. The pity is that they are allowed to run on so far and so long, and become so great before we become aroused.

Now, why is it—if the majority of the American citizens are honest, and the majority rules—why is it that we have corruption? I think there are two reasons, among others, and here let me say that I am not going to advocate any particular system. I believe that a great deal may be done by system, but I realize the fact that I am speaking to a mass meeting, to voters, not to legislators; so that while the discussion of system may be all right, and much may be done through it, at the same time I think that we have a duty to perform, and that is the duty which I wish to discuss. Let us not forget, as Professor Bryce has pointed out, that good results may be derived from a poor system by good management; but good results can never be derived from a good system with dishonest management. While a great deal may depend upon system, more depends upon citizens. It seems to me that there are two reasons why we have municipal evils among others, and those reasons are, first, that the American citizen is not properly informed as to the state of the local governments. I know in my own town, and I believe it is so all over the country, that the average citizen is better posted upon and more interested in national affairs than upon what the Board of Supervisors or Aldermen are doing.

In the second place, I do not think that the American citizen exercises his influence at the proper point. You may say: "They go to the polls and vote." Oh, yes; that is true; but does he vote for the men of his choice? Politicians say that if you give them control of the primaries they will let you control the election, and they do not care which way it goes. There is one of the troubles; the American citizen does not vote, always, for the citizen of his choice. Too frequently it is a choice between two evils. Let me ask you a question. Was the candidate of your party in the last aldermanic election a candidate whom you would have named had you had your choice? If so, you were more favored than I was. And why was it? Did you go to your primaries and your caucus and endeavor to get the proper men nominated? Did you take your friends there? Did

you exercise all your influence there to get the proper men nominated? I believe here is the weak point; here is where we, as citizens, are deficient in our duties. We go to the polls and vote, and the politicians laugh at us; they do not care which way it goes. But if we go to the primaries and exercise our influence there, then we may say we do not care how the election goes, we will have good officers whichever way it goes. Now, then, there are a great many members of Municipal Reform Leagues here tonight, and I wish to say this, that I believe more good can be done, more immediate results obtained from impressing upon our citizens the necessity of going to caucuses and exercising their influence there, than can be obtained from studying systems and discussing such questions as to whether there shall be separation of municipal from national politics. And I believe another duty of the Municipal Reform Leagues should be to throw a strong public light upon all the acts of local officers. It is along this line that we have been working, it is true, and we have not been disappointed in its results; and I feel a strong abiding faith in the future welfare of our municipal government, and a strong abiding faith that the integrity and the good sense of the American citizen will win the battle against the organized forces of corruption. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Prof. John R. Ficklen, delegate from the Ballot Reform League, of Louisiana, and professor of history and social science in Tulane University, is the next and last speaker upon the programme of the evening. The professor asked to be excused on account of the lateness of the hour, but I told him that he had come so far, and we were so anxious to hear some one from New Orleans that we could not possibly excuse him. (Applause).

PROF. JOHN R. FICKLEN: When I consented to say a few words from this platform this evening I believe that I was practically violating the instructions under which I came to your hospitable city. Before I left New Orleans I asked a prominent member of the Ballot Reform League, from which I come as a delegate, what he expected me to do here—how I could best fulfill the duties of my mission. He told me that the League expected me to make a report when I got back, but he said nothing about making any speeches while I was up here. I think, from all I could gather from him, that the League expected me to sit at the feet of the Gamaliels that have gathered here, and to drink in enough wisdom to guide our halting steps in Louisiana until this Municipal Reform Conference meets again next year. Still, I have interpreted, in a liberal spirit, the mission I have, and I wish to say one or two words about Louisiana.

Our present government in New Orleans crept into office while some of the best people in Louisiana were keeping vigil night and day to shut

out the lottery. We found that in watching the State very closely we had to sacrifice the city. It was a great pity that the same ring should creep into office which, four years before, we had crushed with an avalanche of votes. But, still, this great lottery struggle was before us, and a very important contest it was. We thought it was something like that incident in "Pilgrim's Progress," where Christian struggles with the fire. We felt, however, that, armed with endurance and with a good heart, we should win the victory, and we did win it. There was a great deal of party feeling, and it ran very high, families even were divided, and bitter recrimination was not wanting; but it seemed as if the day had come for that gigantic monopoly which was stretching out its octopus arms to throttle the State—it seemed as if the day had come for that to die and for Louisiana to take a forward step. But, as I say, while we were watching to keep out the lottery the present city government crept into office. Four years before we had struggled hard to keep just these men out, and we had established a good government in New Orleans. The young men in New Orleans had armed themselves, had had themselves enrolled as special policemen, and they patrolled the streets of New Orleans night after night to keep the insolent hoodlums from counting themselves into office. (Applause). I know whereof I speak, for I had the honor myself of being a special policeman two nights in New Orleans.

As soon as we were through with receiving the congratulations of our sister States on the putting down of the lottery, we found ourselves face to face with a government, most of whom were looking around to see how they could best make their office pay. I speak in general, of course; there were honorable exceptions. We found, however, that the mayor himself seemed to be looking around to give certain contracts to firms that had too close relations with his honor, in a double sense. We have tried to crush, as well as we could, the disease as we found it. I cannot agree with a previous speaker, who said that we were doing exactly what we ought to do, because public opinion has not been aroused before. It was not that we had a worse government than we had had before, but simply that we had a better public opinion. I must say that, with my knowledge of the facts, the gentleman is mistaken. We had a good city government before this one came in. It was not a perfect government, to be sure, but we had a far better one than this. Now we are trying to crush out what troubles we have by indictments and impeachments. I am not very cheerful about it, for I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. I should rather stop that sort of thing by making it impossible for corrupt men to get into office, than by punishing them after they get in. It seems to me that if we could strike at the root

of this matter in some way, by moulding that public opinion, which has been so eulogized here to-night, or by some other means, if we can do away with the cause of this evil, it would be better than punishing these men after they have fallen by the wayside. I believe that New Orleans will never, however, fall back into the slough, from which we have been gradually drawing her of late. These men have been brought before the bar of indignant public opinion.

I am sure that I shall take back from this Conference a great deal of information to my people in the South. We want down there, if possible, to have a better ballot law than we have at present; we want there a better law for suffrage. We want to introduce there a law that your Honorable Mayor-elect told me had been very successful here in Minnesota. We have a heterogeneous population, as I said in a few remarks that I made this morning; we have a population composed largely of ignorant blacks, and of Italians,—that are still more ignorant and still more dangerous. We want to give these people, however, who have complied with the regulations of the laws—especially the Italians—a fair ballot and a fair count. I know it has been said that we do not give that in the South. The object, however, of the League which I represent here to-night is to give a fair ballot and a fair count; but we want to remove these people, as far as we can, from the temptation of wholesale bribery, and we propose to do this by enacting a good Australian ballot law. Whether we shall be able to do so or not, we are going to try very hard, and the various suggestions that I shall take back from my little stay here, and the memory of your hospitality, which I shall take back, also, will be a great comfort and help to us in the future. (Applause).

Adjourned.

Monday, December 10, 11 A. M.

Mr. George Burnham, Jr., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The paper this morning is by Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, on "The Elements of a Model Charter for American Cities." After the last few days, during which Doctor James has met you and spoken to you, I do not think he needs any special introduction on my part. (Applause).

Professor James read a paper on "The Elements of a Model Charter for American Cities." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: In Professor James' admirable paper we have had presented to some extent the antithesis of the equally admirable paper of Mr. Simpson on Saturday. The two ideas of concentration of responsi-

bility in executive heads, and the councilmanic system, have been admirably brought forth. It seems to me that it would be most desirable to have these ideas now discussed by the delegates.

Mr. WM. G. LOW: *Mr. Chairman*, I should like to say a few words on the subject, although it is rather difficult to know where to begin. I was delighted to hear Mr. Simpson's paper, it was so well conceived and so thoroughly worked out; but chiefly because it presented another method from that which has commended itself to us. I should hesitate about saying a single word on the other side except for the fact that I understand that there is soon to be a general law passed for the government of the cities of Minnesota. Every city ought to have the government which best suits its conditions and the wishes and ideas of its people. The conditions in Minneapolis may change when your population has quadrupled, not so many years hence, perhaps; and when its character, in which you are so fortunate now, has, perhaps, changed for the worse. Our (Brooklyn) conditions have led us to doubt the correctness of some of the statements which Mr. Simpson was doubtless justified in making for this community, although I think it is fair to point out, as he brilliantly suggested, that all the well-governed cities were under the Council plan, and all the badly-governed cities, which he would not mention, were, perhaps, under the one-man plan; and I wish to call your attention to the fact that all he did name, outside of Minneapolis, were European cities. I will not go further into that question, as it has been ably discussed already by the gentleman from the University of Pennsylvania, but I shall, perhaps, venture to call the attention of those present to an article on the subject by the Rev. Washington Gladden, of Columbus, Ohio, I think, in the November number of the *Century*.

I must take distinct issue with Mr. Simpson as to the statement that government by Council favors publicity. Our experience is diametrically opposed to it. The publicity is not so great where the executive power is in the hands of a Council, as where it is in the hands of one man. Any photographer will tell you that you can more easily focus the light on one individual than you can on a group. The facilities for concealing things in a Council are great; and the principle of "log rolling" comes in where you divide the power up among several individuals. Now, one man cannot bargain with himself in that way.

The question of nomination, before you come to your election, is one of the crucial points of any government. That is one of the practical matters which we find of the greatest importance. The great question with us in our last mayoralty election, as it was recently in New York, was how to combine all the people who were earnestly for good government; how to get them together on a nomination. The question of the nomination was the important thing. If you have got a whole row of nominations

to make for your city council, the party of the other part, who generally wants this state of things, has a great advantage. They are more skillful in playing upon people's ambitions, in making nominations, and in selecting the right sort of men for their purposes, than the whole community can be; therefore, the fewer nominations you have to ask the people to make, the closer scrutiny will be paid to the nominations. When we have reached that point, we have got it down to as compact a system as possible, and all the blaze of publicity is turned on that man, and he cannot hide his actions, he cannot hide his character. We think in our part of the country that a great deal of harm has been done through the fear of granting power, lest some harm should be done. I do not believe that is the principle of the American people. Courage is the thing. Trust your man, select your man, have courage to face the thing; don't go on the principle of fear. It is not a sound principle, gentlemen. When you have got your man, trust him, and watch him, and under our principle you can watch him; and if you find him going wrong, as we did in a previous administration—when we found that our man was not living up to the principle that he was not the real mayor that he was supposed to be, but that he was subservient to an irresponsible party outside—when we found that out, and what he was doing under cover, we made him come out in the open, and that is what we want, and when he went, everything went with him. When you get your mayor in, you carry everything else (applause) and the people make a clean sweep, and it sweeps out everything that ought to be swept out from top to bottom.

MR. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF: Mr. Low has touched upon a point which, it seems to me, should receive at least some consideration from this Conference, and should receive some very considerable attention from those who purpose in a short time to secure a general law governing the cities of any particular State and that is the question of nomination. I know in Pennsylvania, for instance, where the primaries are regulated by a general statute, that it is almost impossible for any number of public-spirited citizens to effect any kind of change in the nominations. The politicians, the "combine," the "ring" or the "machine," as you may choose to call it, practically have entire control of all the nominations, and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to place before the citizens any independent nominee. We very frequently hear the statement, "If you desire to bring about reform in the city or other branches of the government, you must begin at the primaries." This is impossible, as you cannot bring about a change as the law is now constituted, because it plays right into the hands of the politicians.

A few years ago a friend of mine, an active citizen, felt that perhaps

something could be done through the primaries. He and a few of his friends made an attempt which lasted over two years, and at the end of the third year of work he succeeded in being elected in his precinct a delegate to the ward convention; but so shrewdly were the laws interpreted by the convention that my friend had for his two years of labor the privilege of being turned out of the convention and the contesting delegate, representing the "machine," put in his place. Either we must apply the Australian system to the primaries or we must attempt something like that which is suggested in California. The California reformers are working to have enacted a law which in substance is as follows: Every member of the party must be notified in advance of the time of holding the primaries, and is furnished with a ballot to be sent to the headquarters of the party, upon which ballot he can place his choice for nominees. In that way every member of the party is given the amplest opportunity to make known his wishes as to the personnel of his party's ticket. If the Australian ballot system were used the same results would be accomplished.

It may be of interest to know, along the line of Professor James' paper, that several attempts are making at the present time to modify city charters, and they are all in the direction of placing enlarged responsibility upon the mayor. New Haven has just had prepared a report by five of its most eminent citizens which suggests placing in the hands of the mayor very large power as to appointments and as to the administration of his office. This charter will shortly be submitted to the people, and will in all probability be adopted. Michigan, at the present time, is dealing with the municipal problem, and the trend of opinion there seems to indicate that she will adopt a report advising that large powers be placed in the hands of the mayor, making the mayor the responsible head of the city government. Both of these commissions, as well as several others that have made recent reports, have also insisted upon another point which was brought out by Professor James, namely, that there should be a very sharp differentiation between the legislative and executive branches of the departments; the executive having entire charge of the administration of the law, and the legislative department having entire control of the making of appropriations and general legislative work. Where that has been in vogue there has been a fair degree of success attending it, at least, where they have had the right kind of men in office. Of course, if you do not have good men to administer your laws no system, no matter how good it may be, will work well. As Professor James has pointed out, in Europe they have what is known as the committee system, and there it has worked admirably, because they have good men to serve on those committees, and those men have seen to it that good men have been placed in power; but until we

reach the same point of insisting that our city officials shall be the best men fitted for their positions, we are not going to make the advance in city government that we should.

Mr. Low touched upon a point which it is most important to emphasize, and that is, if we are going to obtain good city government, we must see to it that the men who are in charge of our government are well fitted for their positions. The idea of taking a man from an active business and placing him in the mayor's chair and expecting him to do wonders in that position, when he has had no preliminary training for it, is absurd. Now, I know, as regards the German cities, and perhaps in some other European cities, where the mayor is a man of large executive powers, that the mayor is a trained official; that he is kept in his place just so long as he performs his duties efficiently. I think the present mayor of Berlin has been in his position for eight or nine years, and he was called from the mayor's chair of another German city where he had served for a decade or more. In other words, the mayors in the German cities are trained officials, experts upon the question of municipal government, and for that reason we find a larger and higher development along municipal lines in the German cities than we do in American cities, in some of which the term of the mayor is one year, in some two, in some three, and in some four. In Philadelphia the four-year term of service prevails, but, as some one has said, in most cities the mayor has hardly time to get well seated and get hold of the reins of power before he is succeeded by some one else who must take up the same business and learn it all over again, and by the time he begins to understand the situation he is succeeded by some one else. Now, I am glad to say, that there is a tendency in some cities, as in Philadelphia, to lengthen the term of the mayor. You ought to have large powers placed in the hands of the mayor, and then you should give that mayor the opportunity to justify any confidence that may be imposed in him by giving him a sufficiently long term to become familiar with the duties of his office and to exercise whatever experience he may have gained. (Applause).

PROFESSOR W. W. FOLWELL, of Minneapolis: I thank my friends for calling upon me, for I had a word to say, although, as a citizen of Minneapolis, I need to apologize to the meeting for taking a moment of your time, because we want to hear from the gentlemen from elsewhere.

I fear that touching upon the first matter, which I shall touch very briefly, I shall put myself in the position of the Hoosier schoolmaster when asked by the School Committee—the examination was in geography—whether he taught that the earth was round or flat, he said he could teach either kind, just to please the parents. (Laughter). Well, of course you see the point.

I think we need to guard ourselves when we are discussing the question of a mayor, council, or board charter. Whenever discussing that we are quite likely to get one part of the subject so close to the eyes as to leave the others out of account. It seems to me that the question is not between a charter in which the mayor is everything, and another in which the council is everything, and so on; the question is upon the proper distribution of powers between the mayor and the council and, perhaps, committees or boards, because I do not suppose that anybody proposes here to abolish the mayor, or abolish the council or abolish all boards. It seems to me the important question of all then is upon the proper distribution of power. Attention has been called to that by Professor James. I favor, for one, increasing the powers of the mayor, and especially the imposing upon him of larger responsibilities and defining those responsibilities. I think that highly important. I do not favor, for one, the undue subordination of the legislative power; it is usual, I think, for the American people in general to do that. The people look upon their council as their representative body, and that council has got to take the responsibility of initiating and passing important measures affecting the government of the city, especially the financial affairs of the city. The people will look to the council as their financial body.

I want to say one word more in regard to boards. Some of our Western cities employ boards—Park Boards, Water Boards, Fire Commissions, and so on. It seems to me the important point to remember here is this, that in the formative condition of these cities these committees are serviceable. When you have gotten further along, your water works built and completed for a long time, when your park systems have been acquired and largely improved, you might then dispense entirely with your boards, or reduce them to a small number with purely administrative power. Now, if we understand rightly, in the city of St. Louis they have no Park Board or Commission. They have a Park Superintendent, who has the whole control of affairs. My supposition is that the city of St. Louis has acquired her park area and there remains for this Park Superintendent the ordinary maintenance of the parks. In Minneapolis we are just going into a large operation of building a reservoir for our city, which will require the reconstruction of our whole water-works system. Now, I think it would be an unwise plan to take it out of the hands of the council until we get this large plant erected; then it may be turned over to the purely executive officers.

I want to say briefly upon another matter—I want to add my word, for whatever it may be worth, to Professor James' suggestion in favor of what we are calling local home rule in cities. I cannot agree with Professor

James that we are ready to accept the widest possible extension of suffrage. Without doubt, women are to vote in our Western States, and later, in all our States. We shall give this all the force we can give it, and there is no stopping that progress. We might just as well face that fact and conform our policies to it. I quite agree with Professor James that we have not made the experiment in our cities of democracy, and that we have yet to make it, in spite of many objections which easily suggest themselves.

I want very much to see tried in our own city what is called the plan of home rule in cities. An experiment is now going on in the State of Washington, and it is this: Under the supervision of their legislature, subject to the constitution, cities of the first class may adopt a charter of their own. The provision is for a local commission to be appointed to draft a charter, to be submitted to the people, and to be voted upon, and may be amended and revised in a similar way.

I want to bring forward one other matter, which I will do very briefly, and I think it possible that I may be regarded as visionary, perhaps. It is along this line of democracy. I was not raised in New England, but I have had a great admiration for the town meeting. What I would desire to see very much, would be such an organization of affairs as would make it possible, and make it necessary, for the people of the city to actually meet together in bodies of limited numbers, say not to exceed three hundred. I admire the provisions of the Australian ballot law very much, in that it is working very well, and I think it will work very much better when we have adopted the mechanical recorder which is coming into use; but I do not believe that the Australian ballot is the ideal system of balloting. The only ideal system of balloting is that system where a man stands up in the presence of his neighbor and publicly and openly gives his voice and his vote together. (Applause). That is a long way off, I admit, Mr. Chairman, and it may appear visionary; but no scheme of secret voting can conform to an ideal method of voting in a democracy. I wish, then, that a city might be divided into precincts, which would include not more than three hundred voters, who could meet together for that primary and for that election. Then a man would have a chance to say his say and cast his influence. My neighbors talk to me and ask me: "Why don't you go to the primaries? Why don't you go to the caucuses?" Why, Mr. Chairman, once in a while I go to the primaries, and what do I find? I find a miscellaneous crowd of men; nobody sees me; there is a racket and confusion going on all the while. Somebody puts a question. "B" is in the chair; "C" moves that "B" be made permanent chairman; "D" moves that "C" be made secretary. Certain printed ballots are pulled out of pockets, and the vot-

ing begins. There is no order about it; no opportunity is given for expressing an opinion; the whole thing is organized beforehand. The slates are made, and there is no choice as between slates. Now, what I want to see, Mr. Chairman, is an opportunity where I can sit down or stand up among my neighbors, hear their opinions, and give my opinions, if I have any opinion to give, and have an orderly, quiet, regular proceeding. That I regard as an ideal system of voting. (Applause).

MR. DAVID MOULD, Sioux City: We find this difficulty exists, to find men who are competent to take office. The reason of this is, I believe, that they do not want to come in competition with men who are seeking the office for their private gains—with unscrupulous men. Now, if we remove the temptation from the men, or the power from the men to do "job work," if our aldermen have nothing to do with the administrative functions, there will be no jobbery so far as the council is concerned. Their duties will be simply legislative, and the men who will seek that office will be men, as a general thing, who are competent to fill it. Now, then, I speak personally from experience. In the city where I came from we have the council system; the council performs the executive duties, and it is very hard indeed to find a man who is competent to fill the office of alderman to leave his business, and accept the nomination in competition with men who are seeking this office.

MR. GODFREY HAAS, of Galesburg, Ill.: I do not think I would have reason to say anything if it had not been that somebody mentioned the small cities. You know that I have just felt lonesome here; I have enjoyed it thoroughly, but I understood Bishop Fowler to say that there were two hundred and eighty cities in the United States above ten thousand, and I guess there are only twenty of the great metropolises, including Superior, and I wondered how about these other two hundred and sixty.

I would also suggest that the Secretary, in making arrangements for the next Conference, see to it that part of the discussion shall relate to the smaller cities. I beg you to understand that in Illinois there is but one Chicago—only one—and there are twenty cities of from eighteen thousand to twenty thousand population that would not be included in Chicago, even with all the grasp that Chicago has. (Applause). And I want to say that the problem in our city is the same as is the problem at Decatur, Peoria and at Elgin, and at these other cities in Illinois. We have not got questions in regard to the street railways, and great questions in regard to the pavements, and things of that sort—they are comparatively small, and yet, even though we have not got these questions to face, we find a corruptness and a rottenness in cities of from fifteen thousand to eighteen thousand population that rivals the utmost corruption that you have in the city of Phil-

adelphia or the city of New York. Take my own city of Galesburg, famous for its Knox College and educational facilities, and yet there exists there a state of affairs so deplorable that it actually is a question as to what we are going to do in our own city; those are the problems to face. And I want to make this one suggestion: You remember Mr. Simpson, of Minneapolis made a statement in regard to how you handle the saloons, and he said it in a rosy kind of fashion, and I made up my mind that either the saloons absolutely ran Minneapolis, or there was some body of citizens that were taking care of the saloons; and when I got down stairs to the lunch that the charming ladies of this church served to us, a Minneapolis man came to me and said: "Mr. Haas, I was more surprised than you were to learn how well our saloons were taken care of." Now the saloon is the point of contact where we are having all the trouble in the small cities. I would like to have Professor James get his brain to work to find out what we shall do with the saloon in towns of that size. We have tried high license, and we have tried an autocratic mayor, one that has all the power, and then this saloon tribe gets possession of him and then they desecrate the Sabbath day and open their saloons way into the night; and add houses of prostitution and gambling houses to their saloons. In cities of the size of our own we have got a state of affairs that I must say needs the most careful work and study to see just what we shall do. Now I beg of you study about New York City all you want to—I was born there, I like the city—and devote all the time possible to cities like Chicago and lots of it right here in Minneapolis, but after all do not forget, gentlemen, in looking up this municipal problem that two hundred and sixty cities of less population have also problems to face, and we want your best thought and best suggestion that we may carry them back to our cities and see in what way we can remedy the state of affairs, and make those cities in which we live—you know we love them more than you do the big cities—little garden spots where morality, law and order shall be as near perfect as we can make it. (Applause).

THE SECRETARY: I would like the Conference to hear from one of the men who has been prominent in securing for Cleveland the charter which Judge Blandin, in his paper on Saturday, so well described. If it is the pleasure of this Conference, I would suggest that we ask Mr. L. E. Holden, editor of the Cleveland *Plaindealer*, to address the Conference.

MR. L. E. HOLDEN: It has been a very great pleasure for me to listen to the thoughts that have been expressed here and to participate in these exercises. In coming from Cleveland, I came from a city that expresses in its administration this idea of responsibility. We copied our charter largely from Philadelphia, having sent a commission there to study the working of

the Philadelphia charter; they visited Brooklyn also. We have had it in use now about four years, and I can say to you that it has been a wonderful change for the better. We were governed by the Board System; there was no responsibility, and we had endured it as long as we were able to endure it. We feel as though the Federal System is the true idea, and it is not necessary to copy to any very great extent the European plans. We are all educated in the Federal System of government, and when that system of government is applied to our State government, coupled as it should be with business management of business affairs of the city, we feel that that is the true American ideal of city government. (Applause). Now, I believe that I speak the thoughts and feelings of every man who has the true ideas of reform in his breast when I say that we want to divorce the management of our city government from political management; (applause) that is to say, to be a good engineer it is not necessary that a man should be a good politician, and if it is true of that it is absolutely true that there is many a good politician that is not a good engineer. (Applause and laughter). Now, then, to govern a city, to do its business, is simply to do the business of a corporation. Why, then, in the name of common sense, do we want to resort to political ideas for the purpose of doing the business of a corporation? There is absolutely no sense in it, and the day is not far distant when every man who stops to think will come to the conclusion that to do the business of a city is just the same as to do his own individual business or the business of a corporation. It seems to me that is the trend, that is the coming idea which must be brought into the management of our cities—to divorce entirely the political idea from the business management of a city. Now, then, as I said before, it is not necessary to bring to bear over our people the new idea of education—it is simply to emphasize the Federal plan. Place the responsibility in the heads of departments, and especially in the mayor, and then, by all odds, have two legislative boards, a board of aldermen and a board of councilmen. There cannot be too many checks in regard to this unwise legislation that takes place. We all understand that. It would be, then, almost idle for me to repeat the waste of franchises that are given away in our city government. If there be one crime against the people, it consists in this crime of giving away the franchises that properly should help to pay the taxes of the people. (Applause). I suppose we have gone through all this experience in Cleveland. We are in it now; we are bound hand and foot in our streets by the street railroad corporation. Think of it! What corporation, what railroad would not pay largely for the privilege of having its road-bed all made, and having the privilege of barring the street from one extreme of the city to the other, and drawing each day three-fourths of the population to pay them

for that privilege? It is marvelous, when you stop to think of it, to see what we give away to these corporations. Now, then, it seems to me that the thing for us to do is to stop that; but how are you going to stop it? You can never stop it, it seems to me, unless we resort to something in which the people themselves shall be truly represented, and they are never represented by what you may call the majority. There is no representation in this city or in any city in the United States when it is controlled simply by the majority, when it is controlled by that voting population that is bought by influence or money, and there is no other such crime before the people as the crime of unrighteous use of money in elections. (Applause). You know that—I know it. (Applause). Now, in my boyhood it was my good privilege to be trained in the old New England towns, and I felt like echoing to the skies what my friend over here (referring to Dr. Folwell) said when he stated that he would divide the cities so that there would be small gatherings of men, and every man should go up there as a democrat and speak as one of the people. I remember those old associations, and I can almost hear the voices, and I can certainly see the faces of the leaders of the town as they discussed the things that related to their respective localities. It was my ideal government; that each man was a power and that he spoke according to his convictions and he voted his convictions without restraint. Now that, it seems to me, is the true ideal of this local representation. (Applause).

Then I wish to emphasize that other idea; that is, of always having this local representation—always preserving it. It is the cardinal principle of democracy of this country. We shall never be true to the ideal, which was established by our fathers, until we thoroughly develop and perfect that ideal of local representation. Next to the right of the individual man is this right of local representation. So, then, the ideal city of the future will have that local representation properly developed so that the people can come to their respective places and each man can speak and do his own will. That is what I expect; that is what we want.

Now, then, I should like very much, if the time permitted, to follow up the idea, which has been so well and much more ably represented than I can do it, of minority representation. That is the coming thought; it is the coming thing that is to preserve the democracy of this country. There is no representation of the majority in our ordinary elections. Take the two great parties as they stand to-day in almost all of our cities; a little local prejudice one way or the other, a little more personality or a little more pecuniary influence in one party or the other wins the day. Where stands that grand minority without representation? How grand it would be if they were represented; if a minority representative stood in the halls of our legis-

latures or in the councils we would have far less corruption; there would be no corrupt body that is always purchasable. In consequence we would soon kill out that class of people, and we should stand forth as a people with an ideal municipal government such as the old world would be glad to copy.

I did not rise with the intention of making such extensive remarks, but I wish to say before I take my seat that I come from the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and the Civic Federation to invite this body to hold its annual meeting in the city of Cleveland. (Applause).

HON. E. H. OZMUN, of St. Paul: I have listened with a great deal of interest and profit to the remarks made here on civic government, but it seems to me that what is necessary to be done first is to improve the condition of our electoral system. The Australian ballot was a step in the right direction, but it was only one step and a very short step. If we are going to give large powers to municipal corporations, large powers to individuals, we must see to it first that we have the machinery to elect the right men, to put them in nomination first and to elect them afterwards. In order to do that we must have a good primary law. We have no primary law at all in the State of Minnesota, and it is absolutely necessary in order to get good men nominated that we should have a good primary law; and further than that, in order to have a pure government we must not surround our public men with the temptations that they have at the present time. We must take human nature as we find it and the world as it is, and not as it ought to be; but there is no civilized government under the sun that surrounds its public men with the temptations that our government does. In the first place, a man in order to be elected in the average community has got to spend four or five times as much money in order to obtain that election as he can honestly hope to get out of it. We need, it seems to me, the enactment of one or two laws; first, a primary law in order to enable us to get the right men to discharge these great powers, and secondly, a Corrupt Practices Act which will prevent the corrupt use of money; and before we go into that unknown regions of granting powers to men who may be elected by corrupt influences and by those who do not desire a good form of government, it seems to me that those two acts are necessary to be enacted before we can safely enter upon this new domain that has been spoken of here to-day. (Applause).

MR. CROCKER: I would not intrude myself upon the Conference again, but there is one practical question that I should like to ask Mr. Low. It has been claimed in support of Mr. Simpson's paper that it threw the safeguards for administering the city into the hands of the council. It is said that in the city of Brooklyn there was a good administration under Mr. Seth Low, but

after that there came a period of bad administration, and it was just as easy to get the bad as it was to get the good. Now, that is not believed by many of us, and I think Mr. Low could tell us the reason for their having the bad, and that he could tell us the remedy for it; and I think it would be very useful to emphasize this point as bearing directly on any charter which we might frame. We want to know whether it is safe to have one man power or whether we will limit it to the council and board and committee administration. I think the history of Boston shows very plainly that where the confirmations of appointees have had to be submitted to the council, those appointed by the mayor were of a lower plane. I simply put this out in the form of a question so that Mr. Low can reply to it.

MR. LOW: I am very glad to do whatever I can to answer the question. It is usually the law of life that one creeps before he walks. Our city government fell into the hands of an irresponsible, outside party which put its nominee into the mayor's chair. It limited his responsibility by controlling his acts. Mr. Seth Low, who had been the first mayor under the new charter, although nominated by the citizens, had been endorsed by the Republicans. I can honestly say that he lived up to the measure of the responsibility that that position put upon him, so much so that he is blamed to this day for sacrificing the interest of the national candidate; notwithstanding that, there was a feeling, I think, on the part of a great many of the other national party that he was more or less identified with the opposite one, and there was a feeling, "Why cannot we have a good man there as well as the others?" I think that that the idea of national politics still had its effect; but the experience that they had under that has taught the people a good deal. I think you have got to creep before you walk, but I think the people have made progress, and the people are educated under that principle when their education can be put into practical effect. Now, the effect has been that at the last election national politics no longer had the same effect that they had before. I can say in fairness that there was not the same pressure that there had been at other times. I think that the people are improving and getting more and more independent; that is our experience. They must throw aside the question of national parties in these municipal issues; they must throw aside the question of national politics, and the effect of this system is to enforce this principle and educate the people in it. You have got to educate the people as well as give them the power. They are not different from anybody else; they are the great mass and the great power, but you have got to educate them in the honest use of that power. I mention this because our system has not been in existence so very long; but I think I can honestly bear testimony that the educational effect of it alone is worth having. I do not think, gentlemen,

that you need fear to try it. Our mayor cannot cut off our heads, he cannot send us to prison; his duties are defined by the charter, but the charter puts the responsibility upon him. Put a bad man in there and he cannot act with the same freedom. These very men who are not true mayors, but some representatives of an irresponsible power outside, they could not operate with freedom because they are under the glare of publicity all the time. The whole city realizes the importance of understanding how that position is filled, and they watch him, and the press watch him all the time, and it is possible for the press to communicate the results to the people, and the people appreciate it and understand it better than they can with a complex government of committees and boards or a council.

JUDGE LARSEN, of Minneapolis: I rise simply to question a statement, Dr. James' statement of fact, which, whether I am right about it or not, it is well for the Convention to consider. He said that the general trend of judicial decision and the tendency of the courts were to lessen the powers of the community and increase those of the individuals. I think the tendency is just the opposite. A great deal has been said of the corrupt influence upon our legislation and court systems by corporations that are seeking franchises, and the tendency of our courts to-day is to view franchises with less sacredness than they did formerly. The Supreme Court of Michigan decided recently, as most of you know, that even a State, to say nothing about a municipality, cannot give away the rights of the people to a corporation. Coming, of course, from the State Prof. James does, where a man resigns the chief justiceship to take a position as receiver of a railway company, I do not wonder that he mistakes the trend of judicial decision. (Laughter). But I think the trend is the other way, and I think the brethren in my profession will bear me out in the statement. We have had an excellent illustration of it here locally. A street railway company believed, and I doubt not, honestly, that they could do as they pleased in the streets of Minneapolis, and by their charges and their regulations that they had a franchise; but the courts decided the opposite, that they had simply a license. We can do with them whatever we please that is reasonable, and I doubt not if you were to go home and look the matter up you would find your franchises are in the same condition that the franchise, so called, of the Twin City Transit Company, of Minneapolis, is in. They have not any. The case went no further than the District Court, because if it went to the higher courts and obtained publicity, other cities of the United States would learn the same thing and the stockholders and bondholders of the Twin City Transit Company would know all about it. Now, that is my honest opinion publicly expressed. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: I see here Mr. John A. Butler, of Milwaukee. We will be pleased to hear from him.

MR. BUTLER: You are exceedingly kind to call upon me. It has been such a feast of wit and wisdom that I do not feel at all like making any further suggestions. There have been many things said which I would like to second, among them, some of the things said by Prof. James. I have had an opportunity, I dare say, which some of you have not had, of seeing something of the city of Minneapolis. I was very much impressed by the uniformity of spirit which is evinced here in Minneapolis in the public works of the city. If I understand correctly, about two million dollars have been expended in perfecting your park system; and while driving about the lakes I saw magnificent boulevards and parks which show to what excellent use this money has been put. Every city, as Prof. James says, must judge of its own affairs. You have conditions and a population which are undoubtedly favorable to your enterprises in the conduct of your city government. I come from a city in which we stand in an attitude very respectful and very courteous toward the incumbents of offices at the present time. We do not aim to have any quarrel with individuals; we are at war with the system in Milwaukee; and I wish to say a word or two in regard to that system. In the city of Milwaukee we have felt in times past—I wish to speak entirely historically—the hand of politics gripping the conduct of business, and we have felt it was necessary—and I was very much impressed with Gen. Winkler's suggestion—that some law should be made whereby the mayor should not be permitted to become the governor during his term of office.

There has been a great deal of trading between the aldermen of the different wards. They arrange with each other in regard to unnecessary local expenditures very extensively, and an alderman of one ward gets this done to-day in his ward, with the aid of the others, and he in turn reciprocates on another occasion by helping them when they want something done. There is wanted there something that will rectify this general trend of affairs. Immense sums of money, through political influences and others, are poured through the sieve of the public treasury at the expense of the taxpayers of Milwaukee. We expend about four million dollars annually in the city, and I cannot see where much of it appears again to the advantage of the citizens. We feel that it is necessary there to introduce a Civil Service System which shall cut away that patronage, and which shall make it undesirable and unprofitable and disadvantageous for corrupt men to get into the council and to manipulate in the interest of themselves and of the politicians. And we are also very anxious to get a Corrupt Practices Act, and when we have got that we will feel that we will be apt to have an ad-

mirable council, and that we will be able to make a purely legislative body of it by simply placing everything in the hands of special men appointed either through the Civil Service Commission or through the mayor. We hope to get our municipality in perfect working order and make all offices desirable for men of ability and character. (Applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps Prof. Ficklen can say a few words to us.

PROF. FICKLEN: I thank you for calling upon me. I had not intended to say anything further than what I said Saturday evening and here the other day. I am afraid the audience is not very suggestive in regard to good government; it is rather an object lesson in bad government. I think what struck me most has been the suggestion in regard to the primaries. It seems to me that some of them are extremely important. I do not know that I could go so far as my friend, Dr. Folwell, in regard to the best method of getting at that subject—the old-fashioned town meeting. It seems to me that that would be a return to the past. I believe, sir, that in olden times when the cities were small and everybody knew pretty well what was going on, that was a splendid system. I look with great respect myself to the New England town meetings, but I believe with the increase of population in our cities, with the great diversity of business, &c., such a system would be impractical in this day and generation. We shall have to take things as we find them; these cities are great corporations, and the people cannot be gathered in separate bodies to discuss these subjects. You could not get them there, and I think that perhaps the very thing which you try to avoid—this making up a slate beforehand—would take place as well under that system. It seems to me the secret ballot—the Australian System—is absolutely necessary to start on. I do not believe that you could get a full expression of opinion in a town meeting in our great cities. I do not believe it possible.

It seems to me that the second step, which some one suggested here to-day, is that we should have some kind of legislation, some kind of regulation in regard to our primaries, allowing all persons to vote there and recommending the different parties to send delegates and to give a full expression of opinion in regard to the delegates. That struck me as being one of the wisest things said here to-day. It is what we are trying to get at in the South now, and what we regard as a matter of great importance.

In conclusion, I would say that we must have a secret ballot; we must have men vote as they please, and the only way to do that is to have the secret ballot. We must have the Australian System hedged around with everything to keep out corruption. (Applause).

Mr. Low: I would like to make a suggestion, and that is, whether it would not be a good idea in all the Leagues that are represented here, if it

can be managed, to have committees to look into the matter of expenditure of money in their cities. I think it would be extraordinarily interesting history if a detailed account could be made of the actual uses of the moneys which were paid in by the taxpayers. I think the revelation would be of very great importance indeed.

CAPT. EVANS, of Minneapolis: It has been suggested that an idea that was offered at one of our local meetings might be of interest, and I have been asked to present it here. The Australian ballot has emancipated the voters. It permits them to retire to the booth and be perfectly free from any influence that can be brought to bear from the outside, and there in the silence of that place it permits his conscience to act upon him while he is preparing his ballot. Now, what we want is to emancipate the commonwealth, as the voter has been emancipated, from these various corrupt influences, and it seems to me that the Australian ballot offers the only means for that purpose; and instead of having a primary election law, or any other machinery that simply fosters partisanship, that simply gives the boss an extra power, that we ought to wipe out all recognition of caucuses and wipe out all recognition of conventions as far as nominations are concerned for municipal offices. Why should the ballot designate a man as a Republican or Populist or Prohibitionist any more than a list of jurors should designate that this man is a Republican, or a Norwegian, or he is this, or he is that? It seems to me that the Australian ballot with the same propriety could designate that this man, John Jones, is a Frenchman, and then might go into any other specifications. Now, then, my theory would be not to recognize caucuses or conventions in any nominations that are made for municipal affairs, but simply require that a certain percentage of voters, if you please, may petition to have a certain man put upon the ticket to be voted for, provided that no man shall sign more than one petition for the same office. In this way the self-respecting, and what we may perhaps call the more desirable class of citizens, would not be obliged to run amuck those seeking primary nominations at the caucuses; neither would he have to go and bow down before conventions; but as it is now, without some slight intrusion in the law, the caucuses and the committees of the caucuses and the committees of the conventions are recognized in such a way that partisanship is fostered. For instance, the committees of the various parties are allowed to designate who the judges of election shall be, and in that way partisanship is fostered. Now, then, if you commit a responsible committee to appoint the election officers, even though they be for various parties, you foster a partisanship. My idea would be, therefore, to amend the Australian ballot law as we have it in this State so that the partisanship or the nationality of the man would not

be recognized on the ballot. And then in registration I would not recognize nationality, because that gives the chance of saying: "Why, the Irish Republican party, or the Irish Democratic party, or the Swede party, or the Scandinavian party, or this nationality or the other must be recognized on the ticket." In this way we foster strifes by recognizing them in the law. It seems to me that the law ought to be so dignified that it would simply recognize the American citizen, and require, before a man can be put in nomination, that he be recommended by a certain number of responsible citizens, and ignore entirely all partisanship in connection with these nominations. And when you do that, any certain number of citizens in any part of the city can simply circulate a petition that Mr. So-and-So shall be put upon the ticket. No caucuses will be required nor conventions, and then when you go to vote the better element has the majority, we might say has the advantage, over the rabble that is apt to get together in order to have personal favors granted to them. (Applause).

MR. MARVIN J. FARR, of Chicago: Chicago has been alluded to once or twice; I think there was a passing allusion that it was one of the worst governed cities. I do not wish to incriminate my city, however, but I would say, gentlemen, that if you will come to Chicago you will find in operation every system that has been outlined here as good. (Applause). We have the Australian ballot; we have, in part at least, so far as the members of the legislature are concerned, the system of minority representation. We have a mayor who has almost absolute power, subject only to the veto of two-thirds majority of the council. We have a council which has unlimited power, subject only to the veto of the mayor. What is the result? Our mayor has the appointment, I would say, of the Comptroller, of the Chief of Police, of the Chief of the Fire Department, of the City Engineer, of the Superintendent of Public Works, of the Superintendent of Streets, and of the Superintendent of Sewers. Gentlemen, you may have heard of our mayor. (Laughter). He is the modern Alexander of to-day. We elect a mayor, treasurer and clerk. Our council has full control of the appropriations, which are vast in amount, and, aside from our general taxes, in the year 1893 we were assessed \$14,000,000 for special improvement. We are now trying to get some relief from that system which is absolutely in the hands of the council. What we are going to do I do not know, but we are engaged in trying.

We have also another system in operation there which has been recommended as good here. We have boards; we have three Park Boards in Chicago, two of them appointed by the Governor of the State. You may have heard of our Governor. (Laughter). So I say to you, gentlemen, that I have followed these discussions through and heard the experi-

ences of other cities, and it seems to me that we have in operation there all the systems that have been recommended as good and desirable; and if you will come there we will try to show you the results. We spend lots of money—I do not know where it goes to, but it goes. (Laughter). The system most nearly following ours is that of Cleveland, which has been very highly commended. Now, that being so in all these points that I suggest, it does seem to me that when we come down to it, it is that we are at war not with the system, but the administration of it. Any system is good if well administered. There are some benefits in the appointive power of the mayor, and there are some benefits in having strong powers in the council; but at present politics enters too much into both. I will just mention one instance. In the year 1871, if you will remember, Chicago had a terrible lesson, and the people rose up and demanded that thereafter the Fire Department should be absolutely and forever out of the hands of politics, and I will say from that day to this it has been. No political party has ever changed the Fire Department, and that department I think I can say is above reproach to-day.

How about our Police Department? I have nothing to say. (Laughter). Politics are the sole controlling motive in that. Every mayor appoints a new Chief of Police; that Chief of Police appoints his sub-Chief, and the change goes on all the way down. Most of them graduate from saloons to be policemen, and from policemen back to the saloons. So it seems to me that we have got to come right down to the point that it does not make so very much difference what system we put in operation; we must get good men in office.

MR. FRANCIS N. STACY, of Minneapolis: The ward organizations in this city are modeled on those similar organizations elsewhere—the Municipal League of Philadelphia, the Good City Government Clubs of New York and the Civic Federation of Chicago. The movement did not get fairly on its feet till the eve of the present campaign, and, therefore, had to take, to some extent, a vacation until after the campaign was over, inasmuch as we found any attempt to organize a club in any particular ward would be met with a charge that it was for the benefit of some particular candidate. However, about one-half of the wards of the city have taken steps toward organization, and about one-quarter have perfected organizations which are, I believe, represented in this body.

The origin of the Ward Club movement in this city is somewhat peculiar. It found its origin in the Seventh Precinct of the Second Ward, in which the Dean and the President of the Second Ward Club resided. There was a danger last spring of the street car transfer privileges on the Interurban Line being cut off, and an indignation meeting was called.

About twenty or thirty citizens got together and made their "kick;" and the meeting received the support of the two aldermen, although one of the aldermen was on the off side to begin with. After that it occurred to them that it might be a good plan to continue the organization. The Second Ward Municipal Reform Club was therefore organized, and after an existence of a couple of months it was thought that it would be a good plan to have the organization made general, and a club extension committee of seven men was formed which proceeded to organize in a number of the other wards in the city, but was interrupted in a measure by the campaign. The movement will now, however, undoubtedly go forward with renewed vigor, and we expect to have a general organization covering all the wards in the city.

I would like to add just a word in regard to the charter question by way of indorsement of the work of Professor James which, as I interpret it, is an indorsement of the home rule charter plan. The people of the United States have the making of their own organic acts; the people of the State of Minnesota have the making of their own organic acts; but the people of Minneapolis have not the making of their own organic acts according to the present system in vogue in the majority of States. Also the body that sits in the Capitol has the making of its own organic acts. The theory of the present system is that the legislators from Ottertail, Beltrami and Kandiyohi know more about the needs and demands of Minneapolis than the taxpayers and citizens in Minneapolis know! That theory certainly is not in harmony with our democratic principles, and I believe that the practical working of it is, to a large extent, represented in the evils which we find. Our difficulty is that the people of the city of Minneapolis, let us say ninety-nine out of one hundred, know little or nothing about their organic acts, and what is more, appear not to care. It is not surprising that they have not had a hand or voice in the making of them, and have apparently little or no power in the matter. Their power is delegated to a body outside. What would the people of Minnesota think if they could not frame amendments and if the amendments were not submitted to them, but were put upon them by a body of men in Washington, although that body had the intelligence and the authority of the United States Congress? I believe that the home rule plan, the submission of the charter question to the people of this city, will give us an educational campaign, which in itself will result in good government in this city for a number of years to come. The rising of the people, the inspiration of interest, and the general familiarity which will result will be of far greater benefit than the provisions which we are trying to secure. (Applause).

MR. OZMUN: The members present are all cordially invited to visit

our city of St. Paul, and especially to become the guests of the Commercial Club of St. Paul, located on the corner of Fourth and Minnesota Streets, at 2.30 o'clock this afternoon. We are going to have a meeting in the Commercial Club; addresses are to be delivered by Mr. Low, Mr. Woodruff, Professor Jenks and Professor James, and we would be very glad to have as many of you as can come over and see us. (Applause).

Adjourned sine die.

DINNER.

West Hotel, December 10, 1894, 8 o'clock P. M.

PRESIDENT C. W. NORTHRUP, of the University of Minnesota, Toastmaster:

Having disposed of the preliminaries of this banquet, we will now proceed to close the exercises, in a few hours, in the regular American style, with appropriate speeches. I felicitate myself, and I especially congratulate you, that I am at last placed where I am neither expected nor desired to make a speech; I am simply to see that some of you make speeches. We have had a Convention meeting in our city for two days, a National Convention, devoted to matters pertaining to municipal government. It has been a very great delight to us Minneapolitans to have this Convention meet here. It is always delightful to have distinguished people from other cities visit us, and it is especially delightful when a Convention comes to us with such serious purposes and devotes itself in such good faith to the work which it came here to do. It seems to me that it is eminently appropriate that this Convention, at least, should terminate with a banquet, for of all men, it seems to me, those who are compelled to contemplate municipal government in its ordinary appearance in this country, need the most abundance of good cheer in order to keep themselves cheerful. I am delighted that, notwithstanding the facts which have been presented from time to time in regard to municipal government in this country, the gentlemen who have been discussing the subject in this city have maintained a universally hopeful attitude of mind and have not despaired of the Republic. I have entire faith, gentlemen, in the ability of the American people to govern themselves, entire faith in the ability of the people of cities to govern themselves, and I believe that the only difficulty in the past has been a misunderstanding as to what is good and what is bad in city government. I believe that if you gentlemen who are engaged in investigating the subject will clearly mark out the lines which separate the good from the

bad, so that the people of this country can see what is good for city government and what is bad, the people will not be slow to array themselves on the side of good. And I congratulate you upon the great themes in which you are interested, and upon the great success you are making in your investigation. You are carrying the torch of truth; you are throwing light into the minds of the American people upon a most important subject; you are, I am sure, providing a remedy for everything that is really alarming in the body politic in our country; and you are moving forward, I am certain, to an assured and permanent victory, a victory that will add to the life and vigor and the manhood of this American nation and make us as proud of our country to-day as our fathers were when the country was young. We are glad to have had you with us; we are always glad to welcome strangers to Minneapolis. We are proud of our city; we are proud of the great Northwest; we are proud of its possibilities; we are proud, not that we stand alone, but that with you from the South and from the East and from the West, we are citizens of this really great Republic, the brightest land on which God's sun shines. (Applause).

But I am not to make a speech, I will not make a speech. I have the honor here to announce the first regular toast of the evening, "Civil Service Reform in City Government," which will be responded to by that veteran reformer and indefatigable worker, William Potts, of New York, Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, whom I now have the honor to introduce. (Applause).

MR. WM. POTTS: I bring to you the news of a most extraordinary occurrence which has taken place in the city of New York. On the 6th of November the people of that city gathered together in some thousand of polling places and solemnly voted to amend their constitution by decreeing that after the 1st of January next appointments to public offices should be made upon the ground of merit and fitness. Think of it, if you please. In the greatest State of this Union, one hundred and eighteen years after the Declaration of Independence, the people of the State determined among themselves that the positions in the public service shall be filled upon the grounds of merit and fitness. What have they been doing the last one hundred and eighteen years? Filling those positions upon other grounds? I think that most of us would concede that that was the fact. But is it not singular that in these latter days we have had to get together and work hard in order to determine that the public service of the United States, which, in its various branches, national, municipal, village, county, and so on, probably embraces at least half a million men, should be officered by men who are especially fitted to perform the duties. Well, it is fortunate that even at this late day we realize that this is an admirable

thing to do. During my attendance at the meetings of the Conference in this city I have been reminded, by virtue of the law of contradictories I suppose, of the old story about the chapter in the book of Ireland in relation to snakes. That chapter, I believe, was couched in these words: "There are no snakes in Ireland." I have been reminded of that because since I have been in Minneapolis I have heard so much in regard to civil service reform in connection with municipal reform. There is nothing but civil service reform in municipal reform. That is the whole business, and I am quite sure that that is the case. I can assure you, gentlemen, that no scheme of municipal reform would have any effect in securing good government for your cities unless it was founded upon a good system of civil service reform; that is, a system which will fill the offices of the city with those who are fitted to perform the duties of those offices and which, so far as the offices do not require an especial connection with certain policies of administration, shall fill those offices altogether irrespective of party. Now, while we have just adopted it in the State of New York, it is not our first movement in that direction, as you are well aware, but for several years, since 1884, we have been trying our hand at devising and carrying into effect a certain scheme of reform in civil service. We have seen in the city of Brooklyn and Buffalo what can be effected by the adoption of good civil service rules in the administration of the city service. All those of you who were present at the meeting on Saturday heard, through Mr. Low, the message which was sent by the Mayor of Brooklyn as to the effects of those rules as seen in that city, and practically both of us speak with assurance upon the point of efficiency of service which has been secured through the adoption of those rules, as to the removal of most of the abuses that we have had in regard to appointments of a clerical character and certain expert positions. We can also represent that Brooklyn has decided upon, and will shortly put into effect, a plan for the registration of her laborers which will remove the main body of the public employees from the control of the politician. When that has been done, we shall be able to show you an object lesson in the city of Brooklyn as to what can be done as far as the public service is concerned. Of course, when we speak of civil service reform we use the term in a technical sense. Naturally it will include the members of all departments; but we prefer to use the term particularly in regard to those subordinates of the various departments who are concerned in the routine duties, and using it in that way I am sure that this company will unite with me in the statement that without divorcing from the political control such positions it will be impracticable to get rid of the "boss" who has, through the power of manipulating those offices, been the means of keeping himself before the public. As I was sitting here, toward the close

of the repast, waiting in mortal terror for the time to arrive when the Chairman should get on his feet and call me forward, I remembered an old "chestnut"—I think, probably, it originated in Minneapolis. (Laughter). I remembered a gentleman who on one occasion was called upon to make a public speech and began in this wise: "Gentlemen:—Forty years ago this was a howling wilderness." After waiting a little while he began again, "Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—Forty years ago this was a howling wilderness," but he could get no further and had to recur to the beginning again: "Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—Forty years ago this was a howling wilderness," he stopped for a moment and then added, "and I wish to Heaven it was yet." Gentlemen, I do not wish that this had remained a howling wilderness. I am sure that we would have missed a great deal if we had not had the opportunity to greet you as we have had in the past few days. We have received great encouragement from your reception of us and the manner in which you have spoken of those things in which we are interested. I have no doubt that what has been done in the East has helped in regard to civil service reform, but it is not to the East that we look for the greatest and most rapid progress in the future. We look to you. And we look to you and we expect to find that here in the West we shall be completely outspeeded in the movement for the future. (Applause).

TOASTMASTER: Minneapolis has an abundance of chestnuts, but we do not raise any. (Laughter and applause).

The second regular toast of the evening is, "Municipal Parties." This will be responded to by Mr. Charles Richardson, of Philadelphia, Vice-President of the National Municipal League. Mr. Richardson comes from the Quaker City, a city so demure and peaceful and quiet, as not to invite any aspersions from her more noisy sisters, a city that we were glad to hear, this morning, is now enjoying the best administration it has ever known, and yet a city worthy to be easily the first American city in purity, and yet it is not so pure but it has need of a reformer living in its midst. Mr. Richardson is, I take it, Philadelphia's ideal reformer—after you have left out my friend, Mr. Burnham, and the Professor over there, who read that delightful paper this morning. At all events, we will take him to-night as the ideal reformer of Philadelphia, and he will talk to us upon "Municipal Parties." (Applause).

MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON: I am very grateful to the Chairman for his remarks, although they are not quite as accurate as they would be if he had been a resident of Philadelphia.

TOASTMASTER: That is, if I knew more. (Laughter).

MR. RICHARDSON: My feelings of gratitude for the hospitality of my

hosts, and my appreciation of the courtesies that I have received, prompt me to assume that the true accounts of the Twin Cities, Minneapolis and St. Paul, are those which portray them as not only the most healthy cities of the world, but the purest; that they have a sound municipal mind in a sound municipal body; that they are two municipal paradises into which no serpent or unclean thing can enter. (Laughter). And that those residents who have ventured to intimate that this condition of things was not known to them, belong to that class who never know when they are well off or appreciate their own advantages. On the basis of that assumption, I fear that any argument in favor of municipal parties would seem to this audience as geographically inappropriate as a proposition to establish a hospital for the treatment of nervous dyspepsia among the cowboys of Texas. Our conditions are so different that I fear it is impossible to make clear to you how absolutely necessary municipal parties are in our Eastern cities. There is no more equality between our conditions than there was between those of farmer Smith and the pauper who replied to the Fourth of July orator, "Ven I gits farmer Schmidt's farm, and farmer Schmidt's a popper like me, we will be free and ekal." (Applause).

The first essential for good city government is good citizenship. If you have that almost any system will work well. If you have not got it, there is no system which will work well.

The second essential for good city government is a freedom from the control of corrupt rings and bosses.

The third essential is a good system of law and administration.

Now, of those three essentials, on the assumption with which I started, you have the first and the second; we have neither. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that your attention should be concentrated on the third, the methods of administration, which are to good citizenship what his tools are to the carpenter; while with us our great demand is for some means that will lift us up to the plane which you already occupy. After that, we think the work will be very easy. Our primary object, then, is the creation of good citizenship, and that, we feel, can only be accomplished by an organization, working continuously, persistently, systematically and permanently. It is no easy or short task to convince the masses of uninformed, selfish or apathetic people, that in every community of voters each is a trustee of all, and that he who endangers the interest of his municipal partners by voting for a bad candidate, or failing to support a good one, may justly be compared to a man who bores holes in a vessel crowded with his fellow passengers, or to the member of a mercantile firm who hands the keys of their warehouse to a band of thieves.

I remember a story of two old farmers who got into a dispute about a

barn which stood near their boundary line, each claiming it. They found they could not agree upon it and they went to law. The court decided that the boundary line ran right through the middle of the barn, and the next morning when farmer Jones went down to look at the building he found his opponent there ahead of him with a box of matches and his greeting was: "Well, friend Jones, what are you going to do with your half of the barn? I am going to burn mine." (Laughter). Now what we want to do is to persuade our fellow-citizens, first, that they would be very foolish to burn their share of the municipal barn, and secondly, that even if they want to burn their share they have no right to burn ours.

The second object of a municipal league or good government club is to enable the good citizens to co-operate, instead of remaining divided into opposing parties on account of their national preferences, which have nothing to do with a municipal government. This, also, can only be accomplished by organizing into a purely municipal party, so that they can confer and agree upon proper action at proper times, and, when the time comes for action, can unite, if necessary, in making independent nominations.

The third object of a municipal party is the study of the laws and the methods of administration, and the invention of improvements, and that also, we believe, can only be accomplished by good municipal parties, working through carefully chosen committees, through salaried officers, working permanently and getting at the very best methods. Now, if these ideas are correct, it is for you to consider whether in your case, as well as in ours, the formation of municipal parties is not the very best method that you can adopt for preserving and improving the good which you have already obtained, and for obtaining that which you may still desire. I thank you for your kind attention. (Loud applause.)

THE TOASTMASTER: The third regular toast of the evening is, "How May Municipal Reform be made Permanent." This will be responded to by Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary of the National Municipal League. Mr. Woodruff, since he has been in our city, has demonstrated his familiarity with the platform. He has also demonstrated his ability to fill a pulpit on Sunday, and he is now, before he goes away blushing with the honors crowded upon him, to endure the final and highest test of responding to a regular toast at a banquet. If he succeeds in this, no man will go East happier than he, and no man will be more generally regretted by this community, for if this community needs anything it is somebody to come here and stay permanently who can make a good speech at a banquet. (Applause and laughter). This is the opportunity of his

life for Mr. Woodruff, and I say this that he may rise in a cheerful mood. (Laughter).

MR. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF: I am afraid that I cannot respond in a fitting manner to the toast assigned me, and especially after the flattering introduction which the Toastmaster has given me. I felt very much, as I sat here listening to my friends, Mr. Potts and Mr. Richardson, that I was in the position of the man who, having been invited to respond to a regular toast printed upon the dinner card, went to an encyclopedia of jokes and anecdotes and fished out three or four very good stories which he thought would be appropriate to the occasion. He was the fourth speaker upon the programme, and as he waited for his turn, the first speaker went through with his speech and exhausted one of the stories; the second man used another story, and the third man used a third, and when his time came to speak he was nowhere to be found; he had prudently and wisely disappeared. (Laughter).

I was reminded, during my attendance at the Conference, of a short piece of poetry I remember having read while at college. It described somewhat the state of my mind as I listened to the successive papers dealing with the varied forms of municipal government—the council system, the board system, the representative system, the system of responsible heads, the federal system. The lines ran something like this:

“ The centipede was happy quite
Until a frog in fun
Said, ‘ Pray, which leg comes after which ?’
This raised its mind to such a pitch
It lay distracted in the ditch
Considering how to run.” (Applause).

And it seemed to me, as I listened to the discussion of the various papers, that we were very much in that condition; but we must remember, gentlemen, that out of chaos comes cosmos; out of conference comes wisdom. We have met here in this city of the Northwest, the key to the great Northwestern Empire which stretches beyond us, to listen to the experiences of those who have been active in studying the administration of cities, and we cannot but be benefited by the wisdom we have heard.

The toast that has been assigned to me is, “ How May Municipal Reform be Made Permanent ?” In the past I fear that we have all been prone to stake too much upon a single battle; we have failed to realize that this question of good city government, the question of good citizenship, will not be settled in one or two or three battles, but may perhaps take the whole summer, yea, and the winter of our lives to work out, and work out

successfully. We may meet with Bull Runs, but the time will come when the victory of an Appomattox Court House will crown our efforts. We must not lose patience; we must not lose hope. If we do not want to meet with defeat in the preliminary skirmishes, we must realize that we are in this fight to stay; we must keep everlastingly at it if we intend to win success. (Applause).

We have heard a great deal during the past year as to the failure of city government in these United States. The magazines and the papers have teemed with articles setting forth the indictments against the inefficiency and corruption of many of our American city administrations. Mr. Bryce and Andrew D. White, who recently represented us at St. Petersburg, have given it as their calm and deliberate judgment that city government in these United States thus far is practically a failure. Why is it so? We look abroad and we find that cities like Berlin, and Paris, and Glasgow, and Birmingham, and Liverpool are well and economically governed. It cannot be that there is something in city government that makes it impossible adequately to administer it. If we found all over the world the same difficulties that confront us here; if we found inefficiency and corruption in every municipal government, we might justly conclude that there was something in the management of the city that made it impossible to rightly and properly govern it. But we have learned, and the experience of foreign cities teaches us, that good city government can be had, and that good city government can be had in a reasonably short time. What, then, is the secret of the success of those cities which have achieved it? Berlin and Glasgow, two of the best governed cities in the world, have good city government because the citizens of those cities demand it and will not be content with anything but good city government; and until we in this country reach the same decision and demand good city government, and never rest content until we have it, not until that time shall we have good city government in these United States. (Applause).

It seems to me that we must look around us and see just where we stand. I have no sympathy with that sentiment which sometimes finds expression in pedantic Fourth of July orations, "My country right or wrong." It seems to me that he is not the strongest man who only boasts of his strong points and ignores his weak ones. That country is not the strongest which only boasts of its great resources and great achievements and ignores its weaknesses and its deficiencies. He who, realizing his weaknesses, looks around to see where he stands and then, with a firm determination, goes ahead to strengthen his weak points, and to make his strong points still stronger, is the truly strong man. And so, my dear friends, he is perhaps the truest American who faces this problem of mu-

nicipal government, and realizes our deficiencies and determines that there must be and shall be a change. Bismarck and his Emperor, in 1856-7, realized that Prussia was a weak State in the great hierarchy of the German States, and they set themselves to work to accomplish a certain task, which was that of placing Prussia at the head of the great German States. We all know how carefully they went to work and how the whole people with them went to work and carefully and persistently trained themselves until the Austrian war in 1866 saw the German troops successful. And then came the Franco-Prussian war in which Germany defeated France more decisively than France had ever been defeated by any other nation; and the German Empire was the result of that persistency. That accomplished, the Germans looking around saw that in the line of city government they had not reached a high development. In 1873-4, I am told, Berlin was one of the most unsanitary cities in all Europe; one of the most unhealthy; one of the most inefficient and most poorly governed of cities. Those who had made their country the greatest in the Empire were capable of making Berlin the best governed city. They set themselves resolutely to it, and the result is that after twenty-five years we find Berlin referred to as the model city. We find the citizens of Berlin insisting upon good government at all times, and tolerating nothing but a good city government. We must take precisely the same position here. We must not let a single defeat at the primaries or at the polls keep us from going ahead. We must be determined to have good city government, and we must realize that we cannot have it until the people demand it.

As some one has said, "I would prefer to have the laws made by Lucifer and executed by Gabriel than to have the laws made by Gabriel and executed by Lucifer." In this country I am afraid we have trusted a little too much to the form of government and a trifle too little to the kind of men who administer the government. We have felt that if we only had the right form of government, the right theoretical type of government, that that was all that was necessary. There has never yet been a law placed upon any statute book that has not in some way been evaded. I have been told how the Australian Ballot Law in New York was evaded by Tammany a year or two ago. It appears that on the official ballots are pasted the names of the candidates of the tickets—Democratic, Republican, Prohibitionist and Populist, and so on. One of the Tammany leaders was doubtful whether all "the goods that he had paid for" at the election were delivered, and, so being very much worried, he hit upon this happy device: Every Tammany ticket and every Tammany paster was delicately perfumed, and each Tammany man who had agreed to vote that ticket was given this perfumed paster. As the election officer received the ballot it

was wafted before his nose, and if they smelled all right he knew the goods were being delivered. (Applause).

We must depend upon one thing, and one thing only, and that is a higher realization of the duties of American citizenship. American citizenship does not consist in applauding patriotic sentiments; it does not consist in getting out on Fourth of July and reading the Declaration of Independence; but it does consist in the discharge of those duties which our ancestors fought for; it does consist in rising to a true appreciation of the immense privilege which we have inherited from our ancestors. We must rise to an appreciation of this or else, I fear, we shall very soon begin to lose ground and go backward. You permit the corruption that exists in New York City, in Boston, in Philadelphia and in Baltimore to obtain and increase and grow strong, and very soon you will find that those popular communities will be a menace to every republican institution. It behooves every patriotic American to see to it that the heritage of our fathers is transmitted to our descendants pure and unsullied. I do not know how it is here in Minneapolis, I cannot tell, I am not sufficiently familiar with the conditions; but I know how it is in Philadelphia. Last year I took the trouble to look over some of the voting lists, and I found that every man from the courts and from the small places and from the small streets had come out and voted; but the men who lived on our large streets, the men who were counted as our humanitarians and our large business men—where were they? But two or three in a block had come out and voted, and the rest had neglected to exercise their privileges as American citizens. We must put a stop to this neglect, to this indifference, to this apathy, or else we shall very soon find ourselves confronted with something very much like disintegration. If we do not exercise our privileges there will come along those who will exercise them, and they will not vote for the widest possible good; but for their own individual profit. I think, too, that we shall have to realize this: That every man in this country counts. We have manhood suffrage—there is no discrimination as to property—but we must realize that, while every man counts, his influence counts also; we must remember that it is the duty and the privilege of every man to do the best possible.

I am reminded of that story which Dr. Holmes tells in the opening of that delightful series of essays, "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." He tells us that at one time in the history of the world the people became very much exercised as to whether there was a man in the moon. Philosophers pondered over it, scientists discussed it, and it became the subject of profound deliberation all over the world. Finally one man made this happy suggestion; he said: "Let us appoint a certain day and hour, and

at that time everybody in the world shout as loudly as possible, and we will make such a thundering amount of noise that if there is a man in the moon he must certainly hear and respond." "This is the thing," everybody said, and they prepared to test the efficiency of their lung power. The week approached; the day approached; the hour approached; and the minute approached. Here was a man who said, "I am only one among so many; I will listen." Another man said, "I am only one among so many; I will listen." Another man over there said, "I am only one among so many; I will listen." And so every man thought that he was only one among so many and that he would listen. And Dr. Holmes tells us that the most profound silence that ever reigned upon this earth prevailed at that time. And it is very much like that with our American cities in voting. (Laughter). Each man is waiting for his brother to take the step. We must each of us determine to do our share, and do our share well, whether our fellow-man does his or not. And, my friends, we must remember that we have a great problem before us. We must aim high; we must each one of us be determined to do what we individually can. We all know, without argument, what comes from co-operation. It won the battles of the Revolution; it won the battles of 1812; it settled the slavery question of 1861-5, and if these American citizens, who have such a proud heritage to boast of, will stand shoulder to shoulder they will surely win in this fight for municipal freedom, for municipal purity, and for better municipal government. (Loud applause and hand-clapping).

THE TOASTMASTER (addressing Mr. Woodruff): You will call on his Honor, the Mayor, at the other end of the table, and he will give you the keys to the city and a permit to stay here, and you will have a permanent business every night speaking at banquets, (applause) and especially when there are Eastern people out here holding a convention. (Renewed applause).

Well, now, gentlemen, we come back to home consumption. The fourth regular toast is "The Primaries." That is to be responded to by the Hon. J. T. Wyman, of this city, member-elect of the State Senate. Mr. Wyman knows three things about primaries, not to mention any more. He knows what they ought to be; he knows what they are; and he knows how to run them. (Laughter).

HON. J. T. WYMAN: I was delighted to hear the exceedingly touching and eloquent poem quoted by my friend, who just sat down, in the first part of his speech—something about the pollywog wiggling in the gutter. (Laughter). I do not remember it exactly—it was the idea I was after. (Laughter). It is appropriate to my subject, and I will come to it in a moment. The poem that I shall quote, which that reminds me of, was born in

St. Paul (laughter), and lived there until a good old age, and the Board of Trade, of which my friend, Mr. Crocker, is president, in its efforts to bring infant industries to Minneapolis and have them established, brought this ancient one here; so it has now become a Board of Trade poem. I am reminded of it when I think of the politicians. I will try to repeat it:

"The butterfly has wings of gold,
The firefly wings of flame,
The bedbug has no wings at all,
But it gets there just the same." (Laughter).

Now, while this may sound familiar, having heard it a great many times, as a recent Board of Trade imported industry it applies to the politician in attending the primaries and the caucuses. How often you reformers may attend, and how often you may stay away—and I presume you all stay away—(laughter); I do not suppose that one out of ten of you ever think of attending the caucuses or the primaries. We ought to get good men nominated for office, for it is a very easy thing to get good men elected to office after you have nominated them. The trouble is to nominate the men. Now, I have noticed, with men attending the Municipal Reform League, it is very hard to get them out to the caucuses or primaries, and I presume it is just the same with a great many of you gentlemen. I do not know how to impress upon you to-night, in the few moments that I shall have to speak to you upon "The Primaries," the importance of attending the caucus or the primary meeting of the party you intend to vote with, in order to nominate good men for office.

Now I was born and brought up in New England under the shadow, if I may so speak, of the old-fashioned New England town meeting. When that day arrived every man deserted his business and went to the place of meeting; the physician put up his old tired horse, and the lawyer his briefs, and the mechanic his tools, and they met in the town hall to nominate and elect town officers—a perfectly fair and honest primary, if I may so term it, and it was usually an election as well as a primary meeting. The most prominent men were selected as select-men, from three to seven men, in my town three men, not selected because they were Republicans or Democrats or Prohibitionists or anything else; they had to handle the business affairs in that town and they wanted good men for those places, and it was far from an uncommon thing to have one of the most prominent men serve in the office, the distinguished office, of fence viewer, whose duty it was to go around and see if there was a fence torn down anywhere, and if there was to see that it was patched up. Many of you people are familiar with that office (laughter), and if there was a "dandy" there, a man who wore a clean collar and was exceedingly well dressed, he was

nominated and elected as hog catcher, whose duty it was to keep the hogs out of the street, and very many distinguished men, men who have even reached the dignity and position of my eloquent friend, the presiding genius of this evening, have served in this office. (Laughter). It really would not surprise me if the President of the University had served in that capacity. And that is true all over New England. The town meeting was a New England invention, had its birth in New England and had its death there, as well as in the West. In large cities the caucus followed the town meeting. That was also a New England prodigy—probably came from the "Ship Caulkers' Meeting" in Boston, and the word was changed in form, and the meeting was changed to the present caucus. Now, while the town meeting was usually opened with prayer, the modern American caucus, which frequently meets in a place near by to a place where refreshments are sold, is frequently opened with a corkscrew. (Laughter). Now, if you can imagine the difference between starting a meeting with prayer and a meeting opened with a good, elegant corkscrew, you can quite draw the distinction between the old-fashioned town meetings and the modern caucus when it is brought up and carried on near to a place where refreshments are sold. That would not be true in Minneapolis, as we have had a "patrol limit" here. Our liquor here is restricted to a small area, and outside of that there is but little sold. But the caucus took the place of the town meeting. The caucus reigns supreme in Minnesota to-day, and in most of the States of the United States. Now, while I am not a very good man in carrying a caucus, notwithstanding the aspersions of my friend, the President, and while I have seen a great many honest caucuses, yet I have seen a great many caucuses not fairly run. The caucus has had its day, and the caucus should die. (Applause). And if the caucus will not die a natural death of its own accord, we want to kill it. (Applause). Now, how shall we kill the caucus? You and I have often attended these meetings and noticed the slates as they have put them up, and we have often gone to a caucus and found that a few earnest and very active and very sincere men have been here before us, and the men have all been nominated and the caucus is adjourned, and we are too late. But often it occurs that the bad politicians have been there in advance, and the average citizen has no interest and has nothing to do when he gets there but to vote the slate ticket. Now, I would kill it by a primary election law. In the State of Minnesota, I believe, that is the only way to do it, and I will only have the time here to-night to mention a few of the salient features of such a law that will, perhaps, meet our wants more fully than anything else.

I would, first, have every voter in the election precinct registered according to party affiliation. If he is a Democrat and wants to attend the Democratic primaries, let him register himself as a Democrat, and if he is

a Republican and wants to attend the Republican primaries, let him register as a Republican. On the calling of the primary election, following the election which will precede the registration of the next year, I would take the registration of the preceding year as the basis for voting in that primary election, and let every man who wants to vote have his name called from this registration list, and let the governing committee or the county committee print the name of every candidate upon the ticket, the candidate having previously notified the county committee that he desires to be a candidate, and after compliance with certain regulations of the county committee and their names are printed upon this ticket, the judges of election will pass out this ticket to the voter coming into the room to vote, and he will find John Smith and James Brown and Peter Jackson on there as candidates for mayor of this city, and he will put a cross opposite the name of the man he desires to have for mayor of this city. This will apply to every office in the whole category of offices. The judges of election will count these votes, and in the end the man having the largest number of votes is the nominee of his party. Now, why would not that be a fair and square method of holding a primary election? I cannot see wherein a slate could be made there or where any trickery or jobbery could take place. These men are sworn officers of the law, and they should be subject to the same restrictions and the same penalties that a man is now subject to who serves in a regular State election as a judge. After these votes are counted and the number of votes ascertained which each man received, the report is made to the county committee or the governing committee, and they announce the candidates nominated by this ballot, in which every man has a fair and equal show, and then that man becomes the nominee of his party and is placed on the ticket at the regular State election. I certainly believe, if we would have fair elections, we must first have a fair primary election in order to have good men nominated; but, above all, the business men and the professional men in our cities and large towns must drop their theories and their speculations for the time being and attend the primary election. If one must stay away from either place, it is by all means more appropriate and more reasonable that he should stay away from the regular State election on the election day and not vote for the candidate nominated, than that he should stay away from the primary election where he has an opportunity to see that good men are nominated by his party. (Loud applause).

THE TOASTMASTER: It is not a matter of great importance, but different customs prevail in different parts of New England. I lived in the southern part of New England where hogs were not allowed to run loose. (Laughter). I escaped from being in the society where offices of that kind

were needed, but I am glad that you (addressing Mr. Wyman) have come from such a place and have had such a training as to have proper appreciation of the primaries and to have some ideas, more or less dim, respecting what is needed for their reform. (Applause). The next regular toast of the evening is, "Some Effects of the New York City Elections." This will be responded to by Mr. Wm. G. Low, of Brooklyn, and I want to say, with entire seriousness, that Mr. Low belongs to a family that has rendered great service to this country. He would not command the very sincere respect which I feel for him if he had been content to live upon the reputation of his family; if he had been willing to do what so many boys of honorable and noble families in this country do—scorn to act the part of the real American citizen in filling the duties of American citizenship. Mr. Wm. G. Low has thrown himself into this work in a manly way. We welcome him to-night not merely as the son of A. A. Low, or the brother of President Low, but as Mr. Wm. G. Low, an active and important factor in the great changes going on in the East. (Applause).

MR. WM. G. LOW: I almost hesitate to rise after such a flattering testimonial on the part of the Chairman, but at the same time I must say that he could not have said anything that I appreciate more highly. I do not know whether I ought to mention it in Minneapolis, but I went to the Chicago Fair last year, and, while viewing some of the exhibits, I ran against a man who turned out to be a farmer from Michigan. We fell into conversation over some of the exhibits which we were inspecting. In the course of the conversation we naturally asked each other where we hailed from. I told him that I hailed from Brooklyn. He said: "Oh, yes; that is the city of Henry Ward Beecher." That was all he knew about Brooklyn, evidently, but that was enough. Now, I remember a speech Mr. Beecher made at a banquet when asked to reply to a toast. He began in this wise: "I use a text very much as a boy uses a gate—something to swing on, and then pass through and never think of it again;" and so if I should depart at all from the strict matter of the toast you will excuse me.

I have been, ever since I saw this card, filled with admiration for the skill of the man who drew it up. I am serious. It is a particularly happy thing in my mind to have asked a Brooklyn man to speak about the effects of the New York City election. In the first place, I think a Brooklyn man has got about as good a right to speak about it as anybody else, because I am a witness of the effect of that election by the success we had in Brooklyn a year before in overturning our reigning boss and his allies. The New York men seriously began to pluck up new heart, and they said: "If those men over in Brooklyn can do it, I do not know but what we can do it over here in New York next year." You know the result. Then, besides that,

I think it is a happy thing to ask a Brooklyn man to speak on this subject for this reason: It would not become a New York citizen to get up and make severe criticisms upon his own city. He would make himself obnoxious; or if he felt inclined to praise New York, his remarks would be discounted as coming from an interested party. Now, I have lived just across the river from New York all my life, having been born and brought up in Brooklyn; but I have had—besides being to that extent disinterested—I have had good opportunities of knowing New York. I went to school there and I went to college there, and have walked its miles of dusty streets to and fro from college. I practice my profession there, and my office is situated there. I have had to do my part in conducting a number of corporations that make their home in New York City; and I mention it as a small matter, but a matter that has interested me as tending to show our oneness, that both in this city and St. Paul in going about in the elevators in the different buildings I have seen the names of the firms in which I have the honor of taking an active part. I like to mention all these things, as it serves to link us together.

Now, some of the effects of the New York City election were seen in the absence of what happened the year before, when things went the other way. I remember very well, just before the last election, of going up Sixth Avenue and seeing standing out in front of a liquor store, the sign, "We are the people." We did not see anything like that after the last election in New York City. There were also about that time tiny tin tigers sold upon the streets and gentle allusions to the meal Tammany had made of the rooster of the Republican party. I do not know whether this body has ever heard the story of "Tom and the Tiger," which was alluded to at that time in the newspapers, and illustrated in the dailies after their victory the year before. It was something like this—I think that the story started in *Harper's Magazine*; I dare say Mark Twain had something to do with it: A young Englishman went out from England to hunt tigers. After a while his family got a cablegram, which you will understand, coming from that distance, was short. It said, "Tom dead; tiger." The reply was equally concise and short, "Sorry; send body." In due time there arrived in England the corpse of an immense tiger. A cablegram was immediately sent back, "Tiger arrived; where's Tom?" After a while the cable brought back this message, "Tom in tiger." (Loud applause and laughter). You can imagine how Tammany rubbed that in; but after the last election they did not have anything of that kind to say. That was one of the effects; and, gentlemen, if you had gone around New York the day after the election, I think you would have been struck with the smiling and happy faces of men as they came down to business. They felt that a great

crisis in the history of their city and of their State, and possibly in the history of the nation, had passed, and passed successfully. I hope that it will tend to redeem New York and its character somewhat in the eyes of its neighbors. I go down to New England every summer on a vacation, and I know of a clergyman there who is really afraid to ride through New York in the daytime. I think he really expects to be carried off to some place and massacred, and I do hope that in some respects the effects of the last election will be felt among our enlightened fellow-citizens of New England; and I hope also that it will place New York higher in your sympathies and your love.

I think in New York there has been a feeling, perhaps unjustified, that New York has lost touch with the rest of the nation to a large extent, and that you were disappointed in us, and that we were something different; and that New York was on one side of the fence and the rest of the real American people were on the other. Now, I hope that you will feel after this that we are more or less in the same position, and I think that New York is worthy of your sympathies. There have been good men at work there all the time, and I do not believe the American people really realize what tyranny there has been there. But there have been good men in New York, working not only for New York, but for the nation; do remember that. It had a different origin from the great mass of our American people of the olden time. The first settlers were the brave colonists and a great many Huguenots and a few English, and that, of course, has differentiated them somewhat. It is a good thing for a nation to have diversity, no doubt. There have been good deeds done in New York by those colonists, and I think we can justly claim to have had the first free public school on this continent in New York City. Those Dutchmen brought that over. And the first battle for the freedom of the press was fought and won in New York City. The Declaration of Independence was read there before the American army in the presence of General Washington. New York is worth having sympathy for, and I ask you gentlemen of this great Northwest to take courage, and believe that we hope out of this election to get opportunities to improve that will not only raise us up in New York and vicinity, but that will also furnish you good lessons and examples by the very conspicuousness of our case, and therefore have its effect not only upon ourselves, but upon the whole country.

I was brought up in Brooklyn, lived there until manhood, and I assure you if you should go down to-night and take your stand there on the banks of the river and look across the bay and the East River you would see a beautiful sight; you would see electric lights stretching across the bridge like a diadem of diamonds, and along the river front sparkling here and

there over the public buildings, perhaps the dome of some large building illuminated with electric lights, so as to show its outline, making a most beautiful and attractive sight, all that is disagreeable and dusty being sunk into the darkness, and only that which is beautiful, bright and light remaining. When you have sunk that which is dirty and dusty and disgraceful out of sight in New York, leaving only that which is sparkling and beautiful, you will find that there is a great deal to admire left behind. (Applause).

THE TOASTMASTER: The next regular toast is "Municipal Suffrage." This was to have been responded to by Edward Yanish, of the Commercial Club of St. Paul. I understand that he has been detained at the last moment and prevented from coming. Is he here, or is any gentleman here from St. Paul to represent him? St. Paul and Minneapolis, gentlemen, are twin cities, and like all twins they are very much attached to each other; they are very sympathetic and it is a question whether if one of them should die the other would live. (Applause). That is a question that can never, never, never be settled, because neither twin shows any signs of dissolution, and they will probably both live longer than any person here present. But we hardly ever feel on an occasion of a public banquet in Minneapolis that the occasion is complete unless some gentleman from St. Paul is present to participate, and it would have been especially delightful to-night to have a representative of the Commercial Club of St. Paul, whose hospitality you have enjoyed as I have, and which is always to be held in high honor, with us.

I remember when this hotel was formally opened the Mayor of St. Paul was present, and the first citizen of St. Paul was present, and it is delightful to have our sister city with us on such occasions. As you go East I desire that you bear East the information that these cities are indeed twins, united in sentiment, in affection, in interest, having a common destiny, having a long future, a future, indeed, that may in some time prove them to be one and not two. We are sincerely sorry not to have St. Paul represented to-night.

And so we come to the next regular toast of the evening, and after it has been responded to the Chairman of the Conference will say a few words to this assembly. The subject of the last toast is, "Weaknesses in Municipal Government." It is to be responded to by Prof. E. W. Bemis of the University of Chicago. Prof. Bemis was formerly a citizen of Minneapolis, and if he had remained here I should not think of calling upon him to speak to us upon such a subject as this, "Weaknesses in Municipal Government;" (laughter); but he is now living in Chicago; he is living in a city which contends for supremacy over New York, not merely in popula-

tion, but in all the peculiarities of municipal government; a city which finds it is sufficiently enlarged in territorial limits that it may some time become the greatest city in the world. (Laughter). Certainly, Prof. Bemis has the reputation of being a very close and acute observer, and if he has used these faculties in Chicago in his accustomed manner, I am sure that he will be able to point out some of the weaknesses in municipal government. We will be glad to hear from Prof. Bemis in response to that toast.

PROF. E. W. BEMIS: I always feel very diffident on an occasion like this, because I always feel my weakness in that which is so necessary on an occasion of this kind—the ability to entertain like the president of the evening by telling a good story. I can claim nothing more than the ability to appreciate one.

One of the greatest weaknesses, it seems to me, hitherto in our municipal reform work has been that the people who have moulded public opinion; the people who have seemed to voice public opinion; the so-called best and leading citizens, the men who ought to want reform, are not sure that they want it. That is, I think, that it is possible that a considerable element are somewhat like a friend of mine who was considering the question of securing a better city government in a certain large city of the South, who said that if he were to think only of his personal interest, it was pretty dangerous to desire a reform; that while it was best not to have too bad a city government lest the indebtedness increased and the reputation of the city become very bad, yet if they had a real first-class city government it might take in hand the electric lights in which he had stock. I am well acquainted with the present mayor in an Eastern city who informed me the other day that he had been offered \$50,000 in cash, and it was afterwards made more, if he would simply agree not to veto a measure; he might denounce it all he pleased if he would simply refrain from a veto and appear to yield to the inevitable. I am also acquainted with a citizen of a city in the Northwest, not in this State, however, who approached a prominent officer of a company holding a local franchise and desired to buy some stock. The attorney for the company said: "We must look up your record first and see how much influence and help you can bring to us. We wish to scatter our stock among the influential people of the city who can help us out in a tight pinch. We once, not long ago, had some stock in the hands of a certain party, and that party, moving away from the city, sold the stock to some lady in Washington, D. C. What earthly help do you suppose that lady will be to us in our desire to increase our franchise privileges?" That was a fact spoken to one of my best friends, and illustrates one of the facts and one of the difficulties we have to contend with.

The editor of a very prominent journal in one of the large cities of the country came to a friend of mine not long ago and tried to borrow some money. He was wealthy himself, and sound; but he had not, as many others have not, a large amount of ready cash at a moment's notice. He had been saying something against a prominent local interest, as he thought in favor of the public good, and that interest, through some of its officers, were directors in a certain large bank. They at once summoned this gentleman, whom I know quite well, to pay up his loan of \$80,000 immediately, within two days, and he came to the party who told me of this, whom I can trust, I think, absolutely, and said: "I know that I can go to certain important financial interests connected with some of the franchises and get this money" (and he told me of one or two papers that had done that), as he ultimately, after a great struggle, did. I do not believe, however, that the masses of the people are corrupt. I think that we have got to call on them; that we must come down to the great mass of the business men, who are our merchants, who are our manufacturers and who are our professional men. We have got to go amongst the wage-workers, and I believe we can find that the majority of the people are interested in good government and want it, though it is true, to a large degree, they are still asleep.

One of the most remarkable illustrations of the need of good city government was illustrated in the late Chicago strike. From what some of my friends inform me, who put on workingmen's garments and mingled with the strikers and with the mob, most of whom were not strikers, in the burning of railway cars, &c., I became thoroughly convinced, as I think most men in Chicago have, that there would have been no extensive violation, there would have been no need of the militia, still less of the national troops, there would have been none of that scare that went across the country, if we had had civil service in our police force and an honest effort on the part of the officers. It was because of the riot that existed, because of the willingness to allow violations to go on for a while, that at last it did get the upper hand, or threaten to for a short time. We do not know what volcanoes we stand upon on account of the misgovernment that surrounds us; we, many of us, are unacquainted with the very dangerous discontent that is slumbering; that is growing out of the feeling that a good deal of wealth very rapidly accumulated has not been made justly and altogether honestly; and much of that discontent is due to the rottenness of our government, of our municipal government, of our legislatures, of our assessors, who have been instrumental in allowing that accumulation by unjust inequalities of one kind and another. After all, the masses of the people are not desirous for an overturn of our industrial system, but

there will be a good deal of an overturn, I am afraid, if we do not have equal treatment in our relations with our municipal and our legislative bodies. Public spirit and conscientious courage must be developed. Our personal ambitions, our personal interests, in whatever there is of a private nature that may be in conflict with the public interest, must be subordinated to the latter, and I believe that a large portion of our business men are ready to make that subordination; and that in the end, if we could but see it, is the wisest thing and the most profitable thing for all concerned.

But having aroused the people, the next thing must be to secure machinery, for that it needs to express itself by. I understand that George William Curtis told this story on himself. He at one time thinking that the problem lay in the primaries, determined to attend them. He found himself unacquainted with a soul there, and very soon a committee was appointed to nominate officers, and they made him chairman. He went out with the committee, and as he did not know a soul that ought to be nominated, they, of course, had suggestions in plenty. The other two had been "fixed." As chairman of the committee he thought everything was all right, and recommended in his report the nominees. They were read and adopted almost unanimously. He went home, and discovered on the next day that he had made the worst nomination that that precinct had made for a long time. Talking with one of the committeemen of my own precinct in Chicago, who is secretary of the Precinct Club, he told me that it was very important to have a good attendance at the club, otherwise we would not be able to keep up our club and would not be able to control the patronage. We would be just as bad as the next precinct. "How is that?" I said. "Why, you know that man has the patronage in his pocket there." Said I, "Who appoints him?" "Oh, I think the city committeemen," he said. "Well," said I, "who appoints them?" "Well, the county committeemen." "And who appoints them?" He said, "I never got any further than that." In other words, we have not a democracy; we have government by a few and, to a large extent, for the few; and to introduce a government for the many and by the many, it is very evident, as has been suggested here to-night, that the one thing that is necessary is a system of nomination.

I do not agree with my friend from Chicago who spoke this morning, and who stated that Chicago illustrated the fact that you might have all the machinery suggested in this Conference, and yet not have good city government. Chicago has no civil service law whatever; Chicago has no proportional representation; Chicago has no corrupt practices act; and Chicago has no decent system of nomination, or even any means of secur-

ing honesty in counting the votes cast at the primaries, or any system for preventing colonization at the polls; and many other things are lacking.

I think one of the greatest needs is to educate business men. When we look around in the community and want to select our good citizens for candidates as mayor and for the city council, we cannot find a man that has made any study of these municipal problems, however upright and successful he may be in business. And one of the great objects of this League is going to be to spread abroad in the community, more widely, the knowledge of the various experiments in good government and of the successful ones that are going on all over this country and in Europe. We shall, therefore, permeate the whole community, and we shall have an opportunity to select among a wider class the men whom we wish to put up as candidates for our offices; and seeing the needs and seeing the possibilities of reform I think they will be more willing to accept these nominations. We shall also do much, I believe, in introducing this work into the schools. I believe it is practicable in the high school to introduce a more interesting study, not merely the framework of the government, but the actual present working of it. We should investigate forms of government, as they have done in Philadelphia, and spread them abroad in pamphlets and tracts. You will say: "We have cut out a pretty big programme;" but we must remember we are in for a life campaign. We cannot keep our liberties unless we continue our vigilance, and this League, and all Leagues, are in, therefore, it seems to me, for a permanent campaign. (Applause).

THE TOASTMASTER: Mr. George Burnham, Jr., President of the Philadelphia League, and presiding officer of this Convention, will now say a few words to the gentlemen present.

MR. GEORGE BURNHAM, JR.: I was once asked to preside at a ward meeting in Philadelphia. The committee on arrangements got word just before the meeting that a certain local crank was anxious to appear, and they, particularly, desired that he should not speak. He was one of those who always pop up on every occasion, so I was instructed not to recognize him. But when the meeting came off he was there, and had circulated around among the audience and was very much in evidence, so that very soon there were loud cries for him, and I found that he must be invited to speak. And as he came up to the platform he said, "Gentlemen, I am forced upon the ticket." (Laughter). Now, gentlemen, I did not force myself upon the ticket for the sake of making a speech to-night, for I am not prepared for such a contingency, and you cannot expect me to say much. But I cannot let this meeting be dismissed without, on behalf of the delegates from New York, from Philadelphia, from New Orleans, from

Chicago, and from all the other cities, expressing to you our sincere thanks for your kind reception and your very hospitable entertainment. (Applause).

THE TOASTMASTER: It has been a very great delight to me to have you gentlemen of the East with us; and you, gentlemen of Minneapolis, I do not want to compliment you, but if you could have heard the remarks that have been made in regard to you, you would feel abundantly paid for anything that it has cost you to come here to-night. I have been to a great many banquets in this place, on one occasion and another; generally a banquet representing some specific thought; but I have never in a long time been to a banquet where the Minneapolis people seemed to me to look any better than they do to-night. You look comfortable, and you look happy. You look as if hope had once more dawned upon you, and the prospect of improved civil municipal government in cities other than Minneapolis was encouraging to you. (Laughter). I am not going to say anything here that will get me into trouble with his Honor, the mayor. I shall make no invidious comparisons, and, therefore, I hold out no hope of improvement in municipal administration in Minneapolis. (Laughter). It may be that we have already attained unto the best and have nothing more to attain, or it may be that those who come after will not be wiser than those who have gone before. "That is a local issue entirely," as General Hancock said with regard to the tariff; but we are very much encouraged, as I said in the beginning of my remarks, and, gentlemen, I have only one thing to say in conclusion: What you are doing is going to tell upon this country a great deal more than you can imagine from the audiences that you have seen in that Unitarian church. I want to tell you, gentlemen, just one thing—you may or may not believe it—but I tell you that the American people, not the rich and not the submerged masses, but the American people from top to bottom, are doing a good deal more thinking for themselves than they have ever done in any decade before the present. (Applause). They do not go to political meetings as much as they used to, because they know that at political meetings, for the most part, they get simply the foam which rises when the elephants are lashed into angry fury; but they read and they think and they see tremendous landslides like those of 1890, 1892 and 1894. It makes no difference in one respect which way the landslide goes, they serve this mighty purpose of unfastening men from the parties to which they have been riveted with steel rivets so that nothing could move them, and they make it easy for these men ever afterward, as they walk into those sacred little booths to vote with perfect independence. And I tell you that the outcome is just this: That the American people from this time onward are going to vote mightily, not an independent ticket, for an independent ticket is nothing but another party

ticket; they are going to vote mightily with independence for the men upon the different tickets that they feel that they can trust. (Applause). And you know, every one of you, that we want in the administration of the city honesty, economy, impartiality and enterprise. We never can tell to a dead certainty whether, if we elect this man or that, we are going to get these qualities. There are always mistakes made by the best intentioned constituency, but we are going to get them, and we are going to put a cross opposite the men whose names represent to us those qualities. (Applause). I have been a Republican all the days of my life. (Applause). I have been a Republican from the time when, in 1856, the standard was raised up of freedom for the territories, and I fought my first battle under the leadership of John C. Fremont. I stood in the contest with Abraham Lincoln, and I went through the war with my voice ringing for freedom, for union, for fidelity to the flag, and I have followed it up so long as the great questions that arose out of the war remained unsettled, and when I came here I laid aside political affiliations. But, gentlemen, I am going to vote henceforth for men who represent honesty, efficiency, impartiality and enterprise in everything pertaining to municipal affairs. (Applause). There are two men sitting at the end of the table, toward which my finger points (referring to Mayor Eustis and Mr. E. J. Phelps), representing, I suppose, two different parties, and I would vote with the greatest pleasure for either of them for mayor. That is what we want to do. This Australian ballot is the salvation of our country, if we use it right. It gives every man an opportunity of saying what man he wants and what man he does not want. And where does the safety come in? It comes in just at the point where our peril has been. It has been so that you could not, any more than George William Curtis, go to a caucus and prevent impure men being nominated; but the time has come, the time has come and the system has come, and the way of voting has come, when every time the name of an impure man is posted before the people as a candidate for high honor, every honest man in the city can rise up and strike him down with a blow that will never let him appear alive again. (Applause). I say this simply as an encouragement to you, gentlemen, if I may venture to encourage you in the work you are engaged in.

Now, my last words to you to-night will be to reiterate my confidence in the patriotism, the honesty, the real heart-integrity and the common sense of the great American people. Do not let us be pessimistic; do not let us talk as if the foundations of the Republic were giving away; do not let us lose faith in our common humanity. God grant that with integrity in our hearts and with the determination to stand by the things that are good, we may look every man his neighbor in the eye, and feel that we are

alike determined to have the things that are good and put down the things that are evil. (Applause). Let us not prophesy evil, because that tends to fulfil itself. Raise up the standard; believe that the people mean well; take them with you and encourage them in their belief, and you will find that it is true. It makes my heart ache, it makes my heart ache to have the people present, as they sometimes do, and as they apparently feel, that if a man is poor, if he has not anything, or if he has not learning, he is naturally and necessarily an enemy to the best interests of the country. I do not believe it! There are men who cannot read who are as true to the government of the country as men who can read thirty languages. There are men that are poor, every throb of whose heart is in sympathy with law and order; there are men who have not anything, in our view, to fight for, who would shed the last drop of their blood for the perpetuation of the institutions of our country. And what are we, to despair of the Republic? What are we, to cry out that the foundations are giving way and that the Republic is going to pieces? Rally! rally to the principles that have been enunciated by this Conference; rally to the principle of having purity of administration in your city; rally to the principle that while political principles are all-important on many occasions, above the principles are the men, and that you must have honorable men to carry out the laws under any system that you can invent. Now, gentlemen, let us rejoice together in the work of this Conference and in its success; in the noble principles that have been started; in the vast flood of information that has gone out through the press of the city, from the first paper that was read by our own city attorney down to the last paper read this morning. Let us rejoice that this intelligence has gone out, and that it will be a power in our Northwest, molding public opinion and making us stronger for the things that are good.

Now, I say in conclusion, God bless our country and make us all faithful sons of so loving a mother. (Loud and continued applause).

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE
PAPERS READ BEFORE THE MINNEAPOLIS CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF MINNEAPOLIS.

D. F. SIMPSON,
CITY ATTORNEY OF MINNEAPOLIS.

Two years ago an amendment to the Minnesota State constitution was adopted prohibiting special legislation pertaining to cities. This provision makes necessary the passage of a general municipal bill in this State whenever there is a need for further municipal legislation. Prior to the adoption of this amendment each of the larger cities of the State had been created by a special act, and for years each legislature had repaired or remodeled any city charter to suit the plans or ideas of the men who happened to represent in the legislature the districts located within such city. As a result, we have within the State an example of nearly every type of city government, and some extremely unique composite types. Minneapolis, however, has been saved from radical changes in its organic act, and its general plan of government is the same now as it was under the act creating the city.

There are certain charter provisions which are essential to good city government, such as a limit on the amount of taxes to be annually levied and bonds to be issued, prohibitions against the creation of present debts in anticipation of future revenue, and other checks on both the amount and methods of expenditures. Fortunately for our people, these safeguards were fully and carefully supplied early in the history of this city, and, as a result, we have no floating indebtedness of any kind and the percentage amount of bonds issued is much smaller than in many Western cities. The usefulness of such provisions are now so generally recognized that no advocacy of them is required.

In certain features our charter does not represent the views of a great majority of our people. Our city elections are held at the same time as the general elections. I think the great weight of conviction in this city, as well as argument, is in favor of holding city elections in November of the odd numbered years, thus separating them from State and national elections, and thereby giving a greater opportunity for attention to city issues and candidates, and depriving political policies and theories, that have no application whatever to city government, of the influence which they are now apt to exert in municipal campaigns.

I think the value of proper civil service rules in the matter of appointments in the city departments is fully recognized, yet, while we have made some slight progress in this direction by ordinances passed by the City Council, our charter has no civil service provisions whatever.

In some manner there strayed into our charter a provision creating ward funds. These funds are raised by a tax levy upon the property in each ward, and are expended by a street commissioner of the ward in grading and caring for its streets. Manifestly under such a system there can be no proper check on expenditures, and an unnecessary number of offices are created. Fortunately, as there are no permanent public improvements carried on under this system, the amounts expended in this way are comparatively small.

We have had occasional short experiences in the management of departments by appointed boards, a plan admirably designed to destroy both efficiency and responsibility. We at present have one appointed board in charge of the department of charities and corrections.

The departments of parks, education and public libraries are in the hands of boards elected by the people. Each of these departments is something in the nature of a quasi-corporation itself, having power to make contracts and appropriate moneys, and each has practically absolute control of matters within its department, the only check on expenditures being a

limit of the annual appropriation for the department. Without raising any question as to the necessity of the existence of such boards, wherever they do exist they should be under the control of the central governing power of the city as to making contracts and appropriating money. From our experience with them we cannot commend the features of our city government above suggested.

The plan of our city government proper is simple. There are elected biennially a mayor, treasurer, comptroller, and one-half the members of the City Council. The purely executive power is vested in a mayor, elected for a term of two years. He appoints the members and has complete control of the police department. The mayor has the usual veto power upon legislation, and all contracts and warrants for the payment of money require his signature.

In the City Council is vested the legislative power and also those powers so great in every city, neither strictly executive nor legislative, those involved in the administration of the business of the city, the making of public improvements and the control of the administrative departments of the city. The city clerk, attorney, engineer, assessor, health commissioner, chief of the fire department, registrar and supervisor of water works, in fact, all heads of departments, with the exceptions above noted, are appointed by the Council and are responsible to the Council. In brief, with the exception of the departments of parks, education and libraries, and with the exception of the strictly executive departments and the departments of the treasurer and comptroller, the entire business of the city is administered either by the City Council or under its direction by its appointed officers. The city of Minneapolis is under a Council system of government.

The organization of a body possessing such plenary powers as our City Council is important. Our Council consists of but one body. We thus avoid the division of responsibility and the unnecessary delays involved in passing measures through two chambers. The members of separate chambers under the dual council system meet each other, plan with each other, and, as

far as public safeguards are concerned, they might as well vote with each other. The only apparent advantage in having two chambers is that it enables the public to know what measures are being passed prior to their final passage, and thus gives an opportunity to criticise and prevent bad measures from being passed through the second chamber. This same result can be reached in a single chamber by requiring ordinances and important measures to lie over at least one week, after amendment, before being put on their final passage.

The Minneapolis Council is composed of two aldermen from each ward, elected for the term of four years, one alderman from each ward being elected at each biennial election. The advantage of this plan is apparent in insuring that one-half the Council will always be somewhat experienced in city affairs, and in preventing, after each election, those sudden, sweeping revolutions in city government that in many cities make impossible a continuous plan in the carrying on of large public improvements, and in the administration of city affairs. In my opinion it would be still better to compose a council of one alderman from each ward and about half as many aldermen elected from the city at large, all to serve for a term of four years, one-half of the ward aldermen and one-half of the aldermen at large to be elected at each biennial election. There are advantages in preserving local representation in the City Council, and also in having at least a certain number of aldermen elected in the city at large.

The administration of municipal business may safely be intrusted to such a Council. With a Council, one-half the members of which are always familiar with the public business; having appropriate standing committees to investigate into proposed enterprises and expenditures in the different departments; having power to appoint heads of departments, to whom the carrying on of work directed by the Council is intrusted, and from whom the Council can obtain advice in all matters pertaining to their respective departments, such heads of departments, under proper civil service rules, to appoint subordinates, and to be responsible for their departments to the Council;

with such a system it is certainly possible to have the business affairs of a great city properly conducted. And there is, in my opinion, a greater probability that they will be so conducted from year to year, and that during a term of years a higher average of efficiency will be reached under a Council government than under a system that places the administration of the public business in the hands of one man.

This is not the view that prevails in most Eastern cities and many Western cities, and as it is often claimed that a single head to a municipal corporation is a prerequisite to good municipal government, I may perhaps properly suggest some of the reasons in favor of a Council government, a system which, from our experience, commends itself, I believe, to a majority of our people as the best type of city government.

First, if the Council is vested with plenary power in the administration of municipal business, the election of a working majority of good aldermen is more certain than the election of a good mayor under the mayor system. Even when the good citizen controls elections, mistakes must frequently occur in the selection of officers. Several mistakes may be made in the selection of aldermen, and the control of the Council still left in good hands; but one mistake in the selection of a mayor is fatal in a mayor government, a system which Mr. Bryce well calls "a kill or cure" system. If the Council is the important body in the city government, business men of standing, ability and integrity are willing to accept seats in that body, and the citizen, knowing his business interests are vitally involved in the makeup of this Council, is as earnest in his efforts to elect good aldermen as he could be to elect a good mayor or any other official. Our experience in this city bears out that statement. The result of the ballots in this city shows that there is very much more independent voting done on aldermen than on mayor or any other officer, and it is not unusual in this city to elect independent aldermanic candidates. The paper read by Mr. Wright at the Philadelphia Convention shows that the Library Hall Association of Cambridge, a good government organization, was able, at four elections, to secure the election of ninety

per cent. of the candidates endorsed by it for seats in the Common Council.

The experience of cities in which the administrative powers of the city are vested in a mayor, and the Council is simply a legislative body, throws little light on the possibilities of electing a good Council. In the city of Boston, for instance, one man is elected as mayor to govern the city, and seventy-five men as aldermen to pass an occasional ordinance governing the speed with which horses may be driven over cross-walks, and to perform the perfunctory duty of passing on appropriations about which, from the fact that they have nothing to do with the detail of expenditure, they are incapable of exercising an independent judgment. A citizen interested in good city government can see no means of furthering such interests, by accepting a place in such a Council, and the seats will necessarily be reserved for men to whom the title of alderman, or opportunities for mischief at the public expense, are attractive.

At our city election this fall we elected as our mayor a man who had recently served in the City Council as alderman. At the three preceding city elections a candidate for mayor on either the Republican or Democratic ticket was a member of the City Council, and at one of those elections such candidate was successful. This would indicate that in this city it is possible to elect and obtain the services of the same class of men as aldermen that are elected and serve as mayors. Undoubtedly in every Council there will be members whose public usefulness is very limited, or perhaps represented by a large minus quantity, but it is only essential to a good Council government that a working majority of the aldermen be honest, competent, efficient officers.

Second, a charter that puts the control of all the business and patronage of the city in the hands of one man has created a perfect political machine and invited the politician and spoilsman to take possession of it. Its fundamental principle is "ring rule," and whether the rulers be good or bad, any system of ring rule is vicious in its tendencies.

Under a Council system no ring is probable. It is a sys-

tem of government by majorities. It makes an opposition faction certain, and the individual members of the Council are, on different questions, continually shifting from one side to the other. Concerted use of power or patronage for the purpose of perpetuating their rule may be theoretically possible, but it is so improbable that from a practical standpoint we may call it impossible.

Third, the mayor system has, by a strange misnomer, been called a responsible system. We can never get responsibility for acts unless we have a full opportunity to know just what those acts are. A mayor and his cabinet transact business without public discussion, give out to the public only such details as they desire, and the only way the public can know the actual condition of the public business, is by a course of private detective work, followed up with a Lexow investigation, or a newspaper exposure.

In a Council government, important questions are settled in the Council, a public deliberative body. One honest, competent alderman can give publicity through objection on the floor of the Council, reported in the newspaper, to the dishonesty or unwisdom of any proposed measure. To my mind this public discussion of public business is the one essential to good city government. It is the keystone of the arch. The good effect of public discussion is two-fold; it keeps the Council itself within bounds, for full publicity given in advance to a proposed dishonest or improper measure will almost invariably defeat that measure. On the other hand, this publicity awakens an interest in, and gives to, the citizen intelligent opinions upon municipal questions.

The Council government is the responsible government. Every vote cast by an alderman for or against any measure becomes a public record, and that member's responsibility for the result of that measure is absolutely fixed. The result of this is shown in every political campaign in this city. Where aldermen or ex-aldermen are candidates for office we find their aldermanic record printed from permanent records of the City Council, in pamphlets, either in opposition to or in support of the

candidate, as the record is bad or good. And these records are potent, and, if truthfully written, a very legitimate campaign argument.

Fourth, I think, on the whole, it is safer to intrust the power of appointing heads of departments to a Council than to a mayor. Three influences are usually brought to bear upon an appointing body; the merits of the candidates, political considerations and claims of friendship. The first of these should absolutely control; but while we elect men as mayors political obligations from the past and political considerations for the future, and also personal friendship, are likely to be very potent factors in determining appointees.

In the case of a Council appointment, while the disposition of the individual members of the appointing body is the same, this body consists of too many men with too many sets of political and friendly ties for these considerations to bring any one candidate many votes, and the merit of the candidate is likely to control. The experience of this city would tend to support this view.

The chief of police is a mayor appointee. Each incoming mayor has appointed a new chief of police, and during the twelve years last past, and I think for a much longer period, no one man has served as chief of police more than one term. And these appointments, with one exception, have not been made from the police force, but citizens with no prior experience in police matters have been appointed.

On the other hand, the city engineer is undoubtedly the most important appointment made in this city. His department includes all public works, as we have no board or commissioner of public works. In that respect we believe that we are extremely fortunate. The city engineer appoints as his assistants a street engineer, sewer engineer and bridge engineer, and such other skilled specialists in their respective lines as the needs of the city require, and under this force the public works are carried on. This is manifestly the department the spoilsman would like to control. The city engineer has always been a Council appointment in this city, and for sixteen years, by eleven succes-

sive appointments, from Councils of different political complexion, one man served the city continually as city engineer. Two years ago he announced that he would no longer serve, and the Council appointed to succeed him one of his assistant engineers who had been connected with the department for years. This is practical civil service reform. The present chief officer in the water works department has been connected with that department for about fifteen years. A term of service of four, six or eight years has been the rule among heads of departments appointed by the Council.

Fifth, a Council government corresponds exactly to the system by which all private corporations are managed. The stockholders elect directors and the board of directors appoint officers responsible to them and subject to their direction.

The Council system prevails in the best governed cities of the world; such cities as Glasgow, Birmingham and Berlin.

The mayor system prevails in the worst governed cities of the world; I will not name them. This is at least a very suggestive coincidence.

The first tidal wave of municipal reform in the East spent itself in devising new organic laws on purely theoretical and experimental lines. There is great danger that these laws may prove utopian. Certainly a system of government by a Council, a simple, natural system; a system that has developed with the development of free institutions; a system that showed its inherent strength in supplanting feudalism in the Middle Ages; a system by which has been attained every success so far attained in municipal government, should not be lightly abandoned.

But whatever the system that prevails, the greatest need of city governments in this country to-day is that surrounding conditions be made favorable to good government. The most hopeful feature of the present movement for better city government is the full recognition of the fact that a municipal government is not, and no charter can make it, a machine that will run itself; but that it must be controlled for good or evil from day to day and year to year; that if the "good citizen" abandons it even for a day there are many others ready and willing to control it;

that the conduct of the city's business does not depend alone on city officials, but on the attitude of the public as well.

In one respect the conditions in this city have been made extremely favorable to good city government. The saloon has been practically eliminated from municipal politics. This has been accomplished through a law regulating the saloon, commonly spoken of as the "Patrol Limits Act." The substance of this law was first incorporated in a city ordinance passed by the City Council and afterwards made a part of the charter by an act of the legislature. This provision prohibits the issuance of a license for the sale of intoxicating liquors outside the limits of the principal business centre of the city, which district is specifically bounded in the act. When the ordinance was first passed, the district in which saloons might be licensed was the portion of the city that was regularly patrolled night and day by the police, hence the popular name of the act, "the patrol limits." Outside this district lies practically the entire residence portion of the city and many manufacturing and business centres, and even many of the largest retail stores and business houses that have been built in recent years. The law was passed to take the saloon away from the homes of the city and locate it where it would be under continual police surveillance. For several years this law was the fighting ground of the two leading political parties, but the loyalty of the city to the law has been, election after election, demonstrated, and for several years past no candidate of any party has dared to announce himself as opposed to the patrol limits. As a means of controlling the ordinary evils that flow from the saloon business, the law has been a great practical success, and it has also accomplished something that its framers did not anticipate, in destroying the political power of the saloon. The political influence of the saloon, so great in many cities, arises from the saloon being located in every part of the city and made a local political centre for people whose homes are in the vicinity and who make the saloon their evening loafing place. Several wards in this city, and more than two-thirds of the voting precincts of the city, have not a single saloon within their limits. It is clear that in these wards and precincts

the saloon and saloon influences can have little effect, either in primaries or elections. I think the leaders of all political parties are fully satisfied that the friendship of the saloon cannot materially help any party in a municipal campaign in this city. As a result, the keepers of saloons themselves, knowing they cannot control elections, have come to believe that it is much better for them to occupy a neutral position.

Many of the unfavorable conditions that have made good city government practically impossible can be eliminated by proper legislation, as the city of Minneapolis has practically eliminated the saloon influence. If our lax suffrage laws make impossible good city government we should face this problem squarely and solve it. In this work of creating and maintaining proper environment for good city government, the active co-operation of every person interested in good government must be had.

We realize the necessity of municipal elections being controlled by men who desire good government. Such men must take the necessary steps to place and keep themselves in control; no one else will do it for them.

The business men of our cities owe it to the cause of good government to raise the standard of business honesty and integrity. In view of the almost daily violation of great private trusts, and the frequency with which such violations are condoned, can we expect that all public trusts will be inviolate?

The citizen must be informed on the details of the city's business; then he can oppose with effect that which is bad and strongly support that which is good. Criticism which is not intelligent often relieves the feelings of the critic, but it serves no other useful purpose, and there is, unfortunately, much of this kind of criticism of city affairs. Any citizens' organization can readily keep informed from month to month of the condition of the departments of city government, but it is extremely difficult, when any important question arises, if it is to the interest of public officials to obscure the facts surrounding that question, to get a correct understanding of the situation.

The public should be aided in this regard by the press, and Minneapolis has been fortunate in having a press that has treated municipal questions on their merits, without regard to politics. The papers of this city have not allowed the political faith of any officer, or of the supporters of any measure, to prevent them from condemning unstintedly improper acts or measures, or from supporting generously acts or measures that seemed to be for the public welfare. As a result, there has been created in this city an enlightened public opinion that has actively asserted itself in favor of good municipal government, regardless of political ties. It is largely due to this attitude of the public that municipal government in Minneapolis has been, if not a great success, at least very far from a signal failure, and it is from greater interest on the part of the public in municipal affairs that we can expect in the future to make further progress towards good municipal government.

THE MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF ST. PAUL.

HON. W. H. LIGHTNER.

While I am thoroughly in sympathy with what I understand to be the objects of this Municipal League, it has not been my fortune to have been identified with any similar body in this section of the country. We have not had an organization of this character in force, largely owing to the fact, I believe, that we have not had so great a need of it as some of the Eastern cities. I was, therefore, considerably at a loss to know what was expected of me when I was asked to make a few remarks at this opening session. I was informed that what was expected at this session was an outline of the scheme of government as it applies to different Western cities, and what the Conference wants at the opening session is a knowledge of the situation as it exists in different Western cities, and such information as it will be available throughout the discussions of the Conference; and the most pleasing communication made to me was that, inasmuch as there were to be four or five of these addresses, they will in no instance exceed fifteen minutes in length. I trust that I shall not trespass upon your time longer than that.

It is a remarkable thing that the two cities, St. Paul and Minneapolis, contiguous to each other, in the same State, with the same kind of population, should have a totally different scheme of municipal government. You have already heard stated the form of city government in Minneapolis. In St. Paul we have a dual Council, and we have very few elective officers. The mayor has very great control in appointments and great power, and in many ways the schemes of municipal government are diametrically opposite; but, as was said this morning, experience has shown that it is not a question as to the form of government that is adopted that determines the character of the administration of the government in the locality, but it depends

upon the interest of the people and the people that are elected to office. I believe everybody in Minneapolis and everybody in St. Paul will agree with me in that statement, for we know that under these extremely different charters a municipal election in either city effects a revolution in the management of the city affairs, and very quickly. In St. Paul we changed our municipal government at the last three elections, and the effect was an entire change of policy at each election. It is proper to call your attention briefly in order that you may appreciate the situation in St. Paul to our form of government. We have a mayor and a Common Council composed of two bodies, in other words, a dual body—an assembly and a board of aldermen. We have a treasurer and a comptroller, and these, I believe, are all of the officers of the city of St. Paul elected by the people. We have other necessary city officers, such as city clerk, corporation attorney, health officers, building inspector, and there are other subsidiary officers. In addition to these, we have a great many boards, and they divide up many of the duties of the city government. We have a fire board of four or five members which manages the fire department; we have a park board, a water board, a library board, a school board, a work-house board, and we have a board of public works. Now, in all these boards every member is appointed by the mayor without the consent of the City Council being required. You can see the enormous power that is in the hands of the mayor, particularly as these boards have charge of the various subjects suggested by their titles. They are supreme within their own sphere, except for one provision, which is found in our charter and which is admirable. The final determination of the amount that these boards may expend in any year is in the hands of the City Council, with absolute supervision over all the estimates, but the Common Council cannot interfere after they have said that the fire board shall have a certain sum for a year in the administration or expenditure of that money. And the same is true of the other boards. Our charter is crude and cumbersome. It is like the charter of Minneapolis in this respect. It was adopted in

1874. The charter of 1874 was merely a compilation of the legislation which was passed during twenty or thirty years before, and since that time we have constantly amended it until we came to the year 1891. All the cities in Minnesota have been amending their charters as the cities saw fit. But in 1891 the people adopted the Constitutional amendment that has been referred to, and which forbids special legislation relating to cities. Now the greatest problem with the cities in Minnesota to-day, and it seems to me to be quite an important matter for this Conference to consider, is how to frame a general municipal law that will accomplish the beneficial results aimed at by such a constitutional provision. The evils of the special city charter for a city are great. Those who have not considered how such special legislation is obtained can hardly realize the evils that had grown up; but the making of special laws relating to cities had fallen practically into the hands of a few men in the cities. It may be the city officials who drew up the laws. In many instances those particularly interested drew them, and these measures passed through the legislature without the scrutiny of any except the local members. This constitutional provision was adopted to remove that evil so that the legislature should be compelled to look into everything relating to every city charter. I do not care to take up your time to discuss the matter; I simply suggest it as a question that is of immense importance, certainly to Minnesota and to these two cities.

Now, in regard to our financial management, I have heard the statement made that we raise and spend more money than other cities. We certainly raise and spend a great deal, about two and a half millions a year, of which over a million is devoted to local improvements, and we have one very peculiar provision in our charter. It provides for what is called a revolving fund, to which I will refer. But first let me say that our finances are divided into funds. No money is raised except for a specific fund. I think there are twenty-one funds, and when money is raised for a fund it is not deposited to the credit of the city generally; it is deposited to the credit of that particular

fund solely, and it cannot be used for any other purpose, and cannot even be borrowed from one fund for the use of another. It is a necessity, I believe, in every city, and it has worked admirably in St. Paul. Of course, local emergencies are pressing needs, and in such cases it works a hardship on some particular fund, but it works for the best interest of the city. We have in our charter provision that only certain sums shall be spent for certain specific purposes. For instance, the amount that the city of St. Paul can spend for police in any one year is limited to a certain fixed sum—\$185,000—and so the amount for fire protection and various other purposes. Now, the peculiar feature of the charter to which I referred (and I do not know that it exists elsewhere), is this: We do not spend in the year 1894, for illustration, the money collected from citizens in 1894—not a dollar. We spend in 1894 the money that will be collected in 1895. There are some benefits to be derived from such a plan that would not strike you at first thought. We determine by a budget; first, the amount that is to be spent for every department—the limit—say for a given department \$150,000. In order to spend that money in 1894, which is not to be collected until 1895, we issue certificates of indebtedness, redeemable at the proper time after the taxes of 1895 are collected. We do not issue certificates for the full amount, but only eighty per cent. Now the effect of that is as follows: The fire board knows that they can have a certain sum to expend in a given year and no more, and must live on it, and they know that they will get it. It is not a question whether the taxes will come in or will not come in. They spend it, and if they do not live upon it for 1894 it is not good business management. In 1895 the taxes come in and are used to take up the certificates while the city is living in 1895 on revenue to be collected in 1896. In practical experience it has been a plan that has worked pretty well. It does away with the difficulty of running the city upon the current taxes which are irregular in their collection. It separates that entirely from the expenditure of the money which the department ought to have, and knows it will have when it

begins its business at the beginning of the year. But, as I said before, I think it is a remarkable provision.

Our salary system is pretty good. We have succeeded in abolishing the fee system in every office. There is not, to my knowledge, an official in the city of St. Paul in the municipal government—there are some in the county government—that receive fees in compensation for services. They are all on the salary basis.

There are many citizens that desire an economical administration of our city affairs, but these two cities are probably very much like all Western cities. During the prosperous times we were willing to build important public buildings, make public improvements, borrow money and pay our officials reasonably high salaries, while it is always difficult in times of depression, when their services are worth less, to reduce them, but that is the effort being made at present in our city.

I desire to say also in regard to our elections, that I agree with the speaker from this city, Mr. Simpson, that our elections in municipal affairs are remarkably good, particularly of late years. I think you would be surprised to know that the vote at the city election in St. Paul this spring was greater than ever before at any city election in the city by four thousand votes, and was greater in the municipal election in the spring than it was in the general fall election in 1894. It is remarkable, and a credit to the people in this locality that they take so great an interest in municipal affairs. We are differently situated in one regard from Minneapolis. We have our municipal election in May, nothing but the election of city officers; it is separated from the general election, which, of course, occurs in November. The independence of the voters is also a remarkable feature. In 1892 the question of municipal reform came before the people regarding a change of the administration, and was carried, in opposition to the dominant party, by nearly four thousand, overcoming a majority of nearly two thousand on the other side. And then again, in this spring election the majority of four thousand was overturned and went the other way by a

majority of six or seven hundred. That shows a great change, the total vote being under thirty thousand. But another suggestion will show you that the change is even greater. It was in 1892 that the Republicans carried that city, or ticket that they represented, by four thousand majority, when we all know that, on political lines, it should have gone Democratic, as it did go Democratic very heavily in the fall of 1892. But in the spring of 1894, when the Republicans should have held their own and carried the election they lost the city by nearly one thousand majority, and they carried it this fall by one of the greatest majorities they have ever had. You can take these figures and you can see how independently the people vote on municipal matters in these Western cities.

I will simply, in closing, refer to one feature of our city government, by reason of some remarks made by the last speaker. I do not know that it makes so much difference whether we have a dual council or a single council, but there are certainly features of the dual council that commend themselves to those who watch local legislation. In the first place, with a dual council, the lower body is a local body, each alderman representing an aldermanic district. The upper body is elected at large and represents the city at large. Having served in that kind of a body, I know somewhat how it works. One of the greatest difficulties of city legislation with aldermen is the fact that anything that relates to an alderman's district is settled by that alderman. And aldermanic courtesy, like senatorial courtesy, yields to his wishes and he runs it. On the other hand, with a second body, composed of delegates represented from the city at large, they have not the aldermanic representation, and they have not the same courtesy for a man who represents a particular district, because there is no such man there, and, to my knowledge, with that difference between the two bodies it has accomplished a great deal of good in preventing aldermen from carrying through pet schemes against the general interest of the city. Furthermore, the fact that it is acted upon by one body and then by another, gives the public an

opportunity for consideration, as has been suggested. But I believe it is a mistake to say that if you simply provide for a single body and that the final vote shall be taken a week later you will accomplish the same results, because men are human and have their human natures. When a man once makes up his mind that a measure should go through he does not very often change his views, even after weeks of discussion, particularly if he is hounded by the public. He will stick right where he was before. Our experience has shown in our dual Common Council, that measures that have passed one body (it is a matter of indifference which it was), hastily and illy considered, have been defeated in the other body or properly amended by reason of public attention being called to them. It does cause some delay. It takes longer to get a measure through, and there are a good many reasons for thinking that the longer it takes to get certain measures through the better it is for the public. I do not suppose you are much interested in discussions of this sort, but there are some of us present who are interested, because we are to have a general bill passed, and I only desire to say in conclusion in regard to that particular matter, of so much interest to us, that I sincerely hope that the best interests of this State will not be betrayed by the adoption of a general city bill, which is to be adopted only to evade the constitutional provision against special legislation, and still try to keep these two diverse city governments running on diametrically opposite charters. You will defeat the purpose of the constitutional amendment. It will be a hard struggle to ever get the legislature to pass a law that will put these two cities under the same municipal government, and until the legislature does, and makes the government of these two cities exactly alike, we will have evil results from the constitutional amendment instead of the beneficial results that ought to be derived.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF CLEVELAND.

HON. E. J. BLANDIN,

PRESIDENT, CLEVELAND CIVIC FEDERATION.

In 1887 the city government of Cleveland was a piece of patch work. It was a growth, not an organization. As it had emerged from a small village it had taken on one department after another, and as each new department had come to be needed and was added it was put under the jurisdiction and control of a small board. This was true of the police department, the fire department, the water-works department, the cemetery department, the work-house department, parks, health and various other departments. These boards varied in number of members, powers and duties, mode of selection and in various other respects. Many were clothed with power to levy taxes, make contracts, appoint employees and officers and disburse funds without being accountable to or controlled in any way by any authority other than themselves. Most of them consisted of five members, chosen by popular vote—one each year—so that it was quite impossible for the voters to punish by their votes boards which it took five years to change, one at a time. Such boards as had their taxes levied by the Common Council had every inducement to make their respective levies as high as possible so as to increase their number of followers as largely as possible by the munificence of their expenditures, and in the aggregate they were able to swell the annual tax levy of the city to the entire limit allowed by statute.

The election of one member of each board each year, together with the general city officers, such as mayor, treasurer, police judge, police clerk, street commissioner, members of the council and others, made a list of from fifteen to twenty officers to be annually elected. Then came the combinations among

political workers to secure nominations upon the principle of "you tickle me and I'll tickle you," so that the average citizen was almost, if not quite, powerless to be effectively felt in the politics of the city.

Of course, no system of accounts of city affairs was possible. Bills were contracted by boards or their employees, and sent for payment to the city auditor, who knew nothing of its correctness, and by him placed in an ordinance for payment of claims to be passed by a Council, no member of which had the slightest knowledge of the hundreds of claims each month, amounting to millions annually, and which must be approved by the Council before payment could be made. Bills were often paid twice without detection, and how many were paid for which no materials were ever furnished no one will ever know. Supplies of the same kind and quality—coal for instance—were bought and paid for at various prices at the same time for various departments, and the cash belonging to the city was scattered around in various places and in various hands of which no one officer ever had the whole account. No one will wonder that the gas companies, street car companies, dredging contractors, paving contractors, sewer builders and other large and influential companies secured favorites in these boards and in the Council, and that corruption and inefficiency were manifest everywhere, and that all these influences which flourished upon the anarchy which prevailed would become stubborn opponents of any proposed change in the condition of affairs.

In 1887 an agitation was started for reform in the city government by an address before the Board of Trade of the city in which it was suggested that the city government be organized upon the lines of separating legislative and executive powers and reposing the former wholly in the Common Council and the latter in the mayor and heads of departments to be chosen by the mayor, likening the executive department to the model in the federal government of the president and his cabinet. The scheme at once took the name of "The Federal

Plan," however inapt the phrase may have been, and has been ever since so styled here.

As might have been expected, the proposal called forth the fiercest opposition from the beneficiaries of the former condition. The politicians were the bitterest opponents; the contractors, paving and gas companies and the street car companies uniting with the politicians and presenting a solid phalanx to oppose the proposed change.

The plan was so simple and easy of explanation that the public was soon made acquainted with it, and its evident advantages made it popular, so that in 1891 its adoption for Cleveland was forced upon the general assembly and it became a law in the main as originally proposed.

Every board in the city fell at a single blow, and the mass of affairs was distributed into the departments, as follows:

1. Law.
2. Accounts, which embraced the bookkeeping of all city affairs.
3. Public works, including water works, streets, harbors, wharves, parks, public buildings, engineering, sewers, &c.
4. Charities and corrections, embracing cemeteries, work-house, infirmary, &c.
5. Police, including health department.
6. Fire, including electric signals, &c.

Each of these departments, except law and accounts, were divided into appropriate divisions, each division being under the immediate charge of a division chief appointed by the head of the department.

These departments were each placed in charge of a head of department, appointed by the mayor, subject to confirmation by the Common Council, and each head of department appointed his subordinates without any confirmation.

To the executive departments, as thus constituted, is committed all executive work and powers, and all legislative powers are committed to the Council. This Council is composed of twenty members, elected by districts for two years, half each year. It levies all taxes, provides for all things that are to be

done by the executive department, but has no power to make any appointments, except its clerk and page; no power to make any contract or to spend a cent of money. It makes all appropriations for expenditures by the executive departments, and no expenditure can be made until appropriation therefor is made by the Council. The mayor has a veto upon much of the legislation by the Council, to be overcome by two-thirds vote only.

All contracts are made by heads of departments, and if exceeding \$250 is involved in any contract it must be submitted to and approved by the Council. All accounts for all departments are kept in the department of accounts, which prescribes the form of all accounts and reports in every department and division thereof.

This, in brief, is an outline of the present form of government in Cleveland.

One or two defects by way of compromise crept into the law at the time of its adoption which have not yet been eliminated.

Provision was made that the mayor and heads of departments should constitute a board of control, which should have power to pass upon much proposed legislation in advance, and the Council is not permitted to pass certain ordinances till they are recommended by this board of control. This, of course, partially unites executive and legislative functions in the same men, and is a mistake. They should be totally separated so as to be a check upon each other.

The Council is too large a body, and should be elected at large; not by districts. A Council of three or five would be better than more. It is a common fault, in my opinion, that all legislative bodies from congress down are too numerous bodies. Better laws would result from bodies of fewer members, and their grade and quality will generally diminish as the crowd grows. Certainly, in a city if there were to be but three men elected, and elected at large, they would naturally be men whose reputations were quite as extensive as the limits of the city, which does not now happen with us. As the members diminish the responsibility for action increases, and responsibility for ac-

tion is the greatest safeguard against inconsiderate and unwise action. They should give their time—and all of it—to their work in a city like Cleveland, and be paid; and to pay twenty adequately is impracticable, while three could be adequately paid.

Our mayor is paid \$6000 per year. He should have \$25,000. The term is two years. No man fit to be at the head of a business costing \$3,000,000 annually can be employed for \$6000 a year. Such men are busy and in demand, and scarce, and can only be tempted to undertake public service for a short period of two years by a compensation larger than they can command in private service. Good public service can be had when it is paid for and power is conferred to act. Our plan of city government in the hands of bad or incompetent men would be very unsatisfactory till the next election, but it would then be within the power of the people to effect a complete change if they desired to. The plan demands liberal pay to the chief executive. The rest can be managed by him.

Our system is working so well and giving such satisfaction to our people that even a proposal to change it by correcting the few errors there are in it would be met with smart resistance. They would be afraid one change would make further alteration possible, and that piecemeal it might be pulled down.

One valuable result of the plan is that a brood of small professional politicians, who lived from year to year in the wards and were paid for services (?) by each of the long list of annual candidates, have disappeared. Their vocation is gone.

A municipal ticket is very short, consisting of mayor, treasurer, police judge, police clerk, locally a councilman, and these are elected part one year and part the next, so that each year the election is very simple, and all public attention is centered on those few candidates, insuring more care by voters in selection.

In my judgment the correct principle in government is aimed at and partially secured in our municipal system. In a word, it consists of a total separation of legislative and executive powers and functions, and reposing the legislative powers, and

all of them, in a single body, and lodging the executive powers, and all of them, in a single executive, with proper veto power over hasty or inconsiderate legislation. For convenience of administration the executive duties must be divided into departments, and, when necessary, to further subdivide them, and departments must be divided into divisions so that one accountable head and chief will hold the reins over the entire executive work, and each head of a department or division to be responsible and accountable to a chief who in the end is accountable directly to and elected by the people. Any attempt to have executive work done by an aggregate body will always result in a vacillating, hesitating, inefficient, if not positively corrupt, administration. The principle of direct responsibility and accountability is indispensable in any correct system of government, and can only be had by a total separation of the legislative and executive powers, and reposing the latter in a single hand.

For myself I am satisfied that the weakness and corruption in all government is to be sought and generally found, not in the executive, but in the legislative branches; and the best way, in my judgment, to strengthen and purify legislative bodies is to reduce their numbers, and adequately pay them, and, in cities of any considerable size, to require their whole and undivided time for their public duties.

It may be of interest, also, to state that after the reorganization of our city government, as above outlined, the government of our schools in Cleveland was organized upon the same general lines, omitting the defects which crept by compromise into the city government, so that the school government of Cleveland is about as perfect as it can well be made.

The legislative work is committed to a school council of seven members, elected at large, three one year and four the next; the executive work is committed to one school director, chosen every second year by the people. The director makes all appointments except teachers. He also appoints a superintendent of instruction, with the consent of the school council, and the superintendent appoints and discharges all teachers.

Political log-rolling for the appointment of teachers in Cleveland is a thing of the past. The finances of the board are in excellent shape, and the universal approval of the new plan of organization is its best commendation. The school council of seven members is too large, and has not been free from factions ; but this is its only weakness. A council of three would have been better, and I believe the general public judgment accords with my own upon this subject.

On the whole, I think we may safely and modestly claim that our city and school governments in Cleveland furnish the correct principle to be imitated and followed in the much-needed reforms hoped for in American cities. Other cities may be able to avoid the slight errors we have kept, but the marvel is, not that we have some blemishes on ours, but that in the war against corrupt politicians and corporations, and amidst the hundreds of nostrums prescribed by the quack doctors of municipal evils, we ever succeeded in getting so nearly the correct thing as we did.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF MILWAUKEE.

GEN. F. C. WINKLER.

Milwaukee has a population of about two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. The city covers twenty-one and a half square miles of territory. It is divided into eighteen wards.

City elections are now held biennially, and in the spring of the year, so that they are separated from the general election of the State. The mayor, city treasurer, comptroller and attorney are the elective officers of the city at large, while two aldermen are elected in each ward. They are chosen, of course, by a popular vote, the qualification of voters being the same as at a State election. They are all elected for two years, except that by a very recent amendment the term of the city attorney has been made four years. The thirty-six aldermen, elected in their several wards, constitute the Common Council of the city, and sit in a single body. The Common Council elects a city clerk, who holds office for two years. All acts of the Common Council require the approval of the mayor to give them validity, unless they are passed by a majority of two-thirds of all the members after a veto.

A board of public works has charge of all public buildings and structures, bridges, streets, street improvements and all that pertains to them. All contracts for public work, whether new or in the way of repair, are let or entered into on behalf of the city by this board and executed under its supervision. The board is charged with executive functions and responsibilities of very great importance. It is subject, however, largely to the control of the Common Council. The board consists of four members. The city engineer, who is individually charged as head of the engineers' department, with all that pertains to civil engineering and surveys in the work of the city, is *ex-officio* president of the board of public works. He is appointed by the

mayor for a term of three years, and must be confirmed by a majority of all the members of the Common Council. The other three members are appointed in the same way, subject to the same confirmation, each for three years, their terms being so arranged that one expires in each year. The city owns its water works, and these are under the charge of this board. In the division of labor between the members of the board they have fallen to the special care of the city engineer. This office was created about twenty years ago. Its first incumbent died in office in 1882. His immediate successor still holds the place, having been four times reappointed by mayors of different political parties, and in each instance unanimously confirmed. Political considerations have never been taken into account in connection with this office. The other members of the board have been frequently changed. Politics has had more or less influence in their appointments.

There is raised as part of our annual municipal taxes a special fund in each ward called the ward fund. All street repairs, street cleaning, sprinkling, street lighting and similar matters, and also street improvements (except so far as they are chargeable to adjacent lots as benefits) are payable out of this fund. By custom and also in part under provisions of the city charter, the aldermen of the respective wards have a special control over this fund and the work chargeable to its account. No improvements, in whole or in part so chargeable, can be undertaken by the board of public works, or even authorized by the Common Council without the concurrence of these aldermen, the "local committee," as they are called. Thus, the aldermen have a sort of local rule over affairs in their own ward.

In 1885, by special law, the police and fire departments of the city were placed beyond the reach of fluctuating politics, which had played much havoc with them previous to that time. A commission was created, to consist of four unsalaried citizens, of whom no more than two were to belong to the same political party.

This commission appoints the chief of each department, to

hold during good behavior. Each chief appoints his first assistant, with the approval of the commission, who also holds during good behavior. For the appointment of all other members of the two departments the commission was required to provide rules and regulations which were to ascertain, as far as possible, the physical qualifications, the habits and the reputation, and standing and experience of all applicants for positions, "and might provide for the competitive examination of some, or all," to test their qualifications for the positions sought. All appointments to either force after the rules took effect were made under these rules by the respective chiefs, and to hold during the pleasure of the chief. This law remains in force and has given very reasonable satisfaction. The rules framed have provided for a system of competitive examinations for all applicants. Their general aim and scope is selection by competitive examinations and exercises, enlistment at the outset of young men who enter the service with the view of a permanent vocation and promotion for meritorious service.

There are other administrative departments, such as that of the public health, the assessors, &c., and there is the system of public schools; but with these the short time allotted to this paper does not permit me to deal. Nor is there need. It may be truthfully said of Milwaukee, judging her by the average standard of American municipal government, that the city is very fairly well governed. Yet there is much to be desired.

A city government which has the annual expenditure of \$3,000,000 should be served by the highest degree of efficiency, the most rigid economy, the strictest accountability in all its departments. In many of its branches a degree of skill and care is required for thorough efficiency, which nothing but long and devoted service and independence of position can give. To provide for these, and at the same time to preserve and secure to the people the controlling power which belongs to self-government, is the problem of the reformer.

Popular elections will inevitably be controlled by political parties. The only way to influence an election is by organiza-

tion, and organization is party. Generally speaking, too, the great mass of the voters will at a municipal election vote on the same party lines as in a political contest. Where the constituency is the same it will not divide into one set of parties for one and into another for another election. There are exceptions to this in times of some public upheaval. The independent voter then acquires the strength of numbers; but even then, in the main, the question with him is for which party will he cast his ballot. We would not, I take it, make our city government other than popular, that is, based on the principle of popular government. But frequent elections of many officers fails to give us the skill and experience which are needed in the management of the complex affairs of a great city. A distinguished jurist, a man of great learning and acumen, who at his death held the place of chief justice of our State, once observed to me in conversation upon this subject: "Where you want skill you must appoint; where you want representation elect."

It seems to me that this rule might be the guide to a very large measure of municipal reform. Joined with it should be the aim so to constitute the appointing power as to impress it with the highest sense of responsibility. In our city, for instance, it might be well to elect the mayor for four years, and to provide by law that during the four years he shall not be eligible to any other office.

The mayor and the members of the Common Council are the only officers in the city who are at all representative. They only should be elected by popular vote. All others should be appointed, preferably at different times, so as to avoid a general office delivery at any one time.

Only one-half of the aldermen should be chosen at one election. The whole body should never be renewed all at one time. This, with biennial elections, would necessitate a four years' term for aldermen. I should not regard this as an objectionable feature.

The chiefs of departments should be appointed. The clerical force of the city, and many, if not all, of the employees of

the board of public works in all its branches, should be appointed under civil service rules. The aldermen should be members of the Common Council only; representatives of their wards, indeed, but not executive officers of the wards. The duties and independence of the board of public works in executive work should be extended, always, of course, with proper provisions for strict accountability. Let the Common Council legislate, direct what shall be done; let the board do it. Probably the term of office of the members of the board could be advantageously extended. But it is not my purpose here to go into details of reforms, but only to indicate the direction which, in my judgment, they should take. With all this, and without it, a watchful constituency is needful, will ever be most useful in promoting the cause of municipal good government. Without constant vigilance of supervision even the best organized machinery is liable to get into dangerous ruts. If organizations such as are here represented will habitually investigate and thoroughly inform themselves of the public business that is carried on in their respective cities, study the expenditures made and the results achieved by them, they cannot fail at the same time to gather much useful information, and, incidentally, to exert a very useful influence on the conduct of public affairs.

The city of Milwaukee, with seven surrounding towns, constitutes the County of Milwaukee. The affairs of the county are governed and managed by a board of supervisors, one from each town and one from each ward of the city. There is no executive. All executive duties are discharged by committees. These duties in a county such as ours are very important. The poor department, among other things, is a county charge. Such a body as a county board of twenty-five members is a proper body only for the discharge of legislative duties. For the details of administrative and executive business it is about the poorest form of government that can be devised. Its committees, necessarily short-lived and liable to constant change, can have no continuity of plan or purpose, are not apt to be well informed, nor to be impressed very strongly with a sense of

responsibility. I believe that the county portion of our municipal government is the most unsatisfactory of the system. Improvement or reform in county government generally may be a very proper subject of study. But it would seem the plain dictate of common sense that where a city has grown to the size and importance of that of Milwaukee, city and county should coincide and one government charged with all the functions and duties which are now divided between the two. With us, unfortunately, there are constitutional obstructions which stand in the way of accomplishing this end.

SOME ESSENTIALS OF GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT IN THE WAY OF GRANTING FRANCHISES.

PROF. EDWARD W. BEMIS,
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

I wish to call attention to the crying need of a better system of granting franchises for street railways, gas works, electric light plants, elevated railroads, telephone lines, &c., because from a considerable investigation of this problem, extending over several years, I believe that herein lies one of the greatest weaknesses of our municipal institutions, one of the most demoralizing to all concerned.

This seems so plain as to render illustration unnecessary in the midst of the pressing demands for time for papers at this Convention. I will merely say, as typical of our present situation in some of our large cities, that a very prominent lawyer and personal friend, in whose word I have every confidence, told me recently that, as attorneys for many large corporations, his firm were appalled at the corruption seen on every hand. He remarked, as not exceptional in any way, that one corporation, for which he was attorney and in which he was a director, had just set aside \$100,000 to buy the Chicago City Council the coming months, and had done it as calmly as they would have set aside the same money for a new building. The remedies are the important matter. While I believe in a gradual extension of municipal ownership in the case of local monopolies, we must recognize that there are many legal and political difficulties in the way, and for a considerable time to come many cities will continue private ownership; but it would seem as if all citizens, who have no special axe to grind, might agree upon the following propositions:

First.—That the mayor should have the right of absolute veto upon any proposed franchise. This, as suggested by Mr. Conkling in his recent book on city government, would relieve the Council of some of its, at present, overwhelming temptations to corruption, and would be in harmony with the general spirit of the federal plan. The mayor is generally a far more honest and responsible man than the City Council, and this proposed increase of control over new franchises would lead to the elevation of the mayoralty to still higher character and ability. Nothing but an absolute veto seems sufficient. Notice, *e. g.*, how the Chicago City Council, by a vote of about five to one, overruled Mayor Hopkins' veto last spring of a gas ordinance which was passed in the name of a lady typewriter connected with a lawyer's office. The aldermen voting for the measure refused to give, and in most cases claimed they did not know in whose behalf this new ordinance—permitting the tearing up of all the streets—was granted. The ordinance, by the way, secured only insignificant advantages in the matter of price, &c., over the rates furnished by the existing companies, though granted for fifty years.

A second requirement of good city government in this direction should be a constitutional, or if that is not possible, a legislative limitation to the length of time for which future franchises can be given; such term should not exceed thirty years with elevated roads, twenty years with gas works or surface street car lines and a much less period for electric light and telephone companies.

In the third place, it should not be possible to renew a franchise until within one year of its expiration. Otherwise, a company, as some years ago in Detroit, will take advantage of a complaisant and often corrupt City Council to secure an ordinance before the people are aware of the situation.

Fourth.—All franchises for extensions to new streets should expire with the expiration of the franchise on the main system. A contrary policy in Chicago and other cities prevents the franchise for the system of street car lines of a division of the city

from expiring at the same time, and so ties the hands of the city in any broad, thorough treatment of the problem. This present chaos seems to have been especially contrived by the corporations to forestall public reform.

Fifth.—Extensions in new streets should be made subject to order of the city, with appeal possibly to some court of arbitration.

Sixth.—Complete publicity of accounts, with the power and duty vested in the city auditor to audit the books one or more times a year and to prescribe methods of book-keeping.

This is practically achieved in Massachusetts on behalf of the State gas commission, although that timid body refuses to publish some of its most important information.

Seventh.—The city, in case of transportation lines, should have the power to require increase of cars up to the capacity of the road when traffic seems to demand. A company making a monopoly profit of twenty to forty per cent. on the cost of construction should not, as in many cities, be permitted to keep cars in the barns for hours in the busy part of the day while passengers hang on by the straps. It is such conduct, and the corrupt ways of gaining franchises, that make Anarchists and account, in part, for the growing discontent of the people.

Eighth.—The express condition should be made that the company receiving the franchise must, at its expiration, if not securing a renewal, sell out to the city or another company, that should receive the franchise at the cost of duplicating the physical plant, independent of any value based on earning power.

It might seem as though after the expiration of a franchise a city would have the right to purchase at this price; but a very able lawyer, of large practice in the United States courts, assures me that it is far safer to have this point explicitly stated in the franchise, otherwise there is no telling what might be the decision of our national courts, with their leaning to the so-called vested interests of the few and against the rights of many.

Ninth.—Sale of the franchise should be made to the bidder offering the cheapest and best service or largest revenue to the

city, emphasis being laid on cheap and good service as the more important. The city, through its engineer, should first decide what streets were to be occupied, and something of the service required, before asking for bids. The experience of Toronto, Canada, is valuable here. In many cases the company securing a franchise could be induced to provide that the city at the expiration of the franchise should have all the plant free of charge.

Tenth.—Two years before the expiration of every franchise the citizens should have the opportunity to vote on city ownership, and, if the latter is carried, then the city to own and operate after the expiration of the franchise, with the provision for the merit system in the civil service, and with the further provision that every five years thereafter for ten or fifteen years, on petition of a certain number of citizens, another popular vote should be had on the question of continuing city management.

The profit in these local franchises is so great that I have no doubt competitors for a franchise, even under these conditions, would quickly appear, as was the case in Toronto in 1891, well described in a recent number of the *Review of Reviews*. Is not the principle underlying the above suggestions the eminently sound one, that the citizens owning, as a whole, our streets should treat them as you and I would if we owned them and as present monopolistic possessors do for themselves, in the way to get the most out of the streets for us, the owners, and so as to preserve intact the rights of the people ten and twenty years hence.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION AND MUNICIPAL REFORM.

PROF. JEREMIAH W. JENKS,
CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

It will be understood that this question of proportional representation has nothing directly to do with the executive part of municipal government, it has to do simply with the legislative part.

In all of our reform movements we find that there are two radically different theories that are advanced, and the difference between these two theories really goes to the root of the matter. One theory assumes that there is something wrong in human nature, or in the motives that influence the people.

Its advocates think that we must convert people, change their opinions, give them higher motives. The other theory assumes that human motives are practically unchangeable, and that reform must come through a change in governmental organization. One of the chief things said at the Municipal Reform Meeting last year, at Philadelphia, was from advocates of the first theory. The chief evil, perhaps, in municipal government, it was said, is the fact that our reputable business men do not take an interest in it and will not do their duty regarding it. They ought to be reformed. That is beyond question, true; but, nevertheless, if we look for reform to a change in the motives of business men we shall be very much mistaken. It has been shown in the past that business men will not neglect their business for politics, and we must expect that in the future also they will look after their private interests first. Here and there, of course, there will be one who will be willing to take time from his private business and devote it to the interest of the public, but generally speaking he will be the exception.

The second party argues: People have been looking after private interests in the past; we may expect that they will do so in the future. Municipal reform must come very largely, then, from some change in our governmental organization, so that individuals, while looking after private interests, will also thereby accomplish good for the public.

We might, of course, give examples along both lines of thought. Both of these theories are, in part, right. The great moral reformers of the world, Buddha and Christ, for example, have worked along the first line. They did put new ideas into men's minds; they did attempt to change men's hearts and motives, and by looking through the history of the centuries of the past we find that they succeeded. Most of our reformers wish more immediate results, and they ought to have more immediate results.

Of those who are working on the second principle, a good example is the prohibitionists. They assume that man's thirst is, relatively speaking, constant; that men are likely to yield to temptation, if temptation is thrust in their way. They, therefore, attempt to bring about their reform movement by removing temptation. In some cases they succeed; in others they apparently make things worse instead of better. These are the ideals of these two classes of reformers.

In judging their relative merits we must consider that there are three classes of citizens that we must deal with. The first is the class of the corrupt, those who make a living by their evil dealing, and who, consequently, desire no reform in city government because such reform would take away their living. The second class is that of the reformers, the so-called fanatics, good people who are horrified at evil wherever they find it; people who are willing to sacrifice much for the sake of improving our politics. This is not a very large class in the community, although I believe it is a growing class.

The third class consists of the great mass of the people in the community—the common-place men in every sense of the word. Many of them are men of sense and of excellent business judgment. They are the sound citizens, the strong busi-

ness men of the community—good men—but men who do not look very much beyond their business. Then, in addition to these, there are the ignorant masses in the community, men who are well-meaning, but who are not thoughtful, who do not look into the future. Now both these groups are likely to be made up of good party men who will do as their party leaders tell them without looking very much beyond that. They will vote their regular ticket because they have always done so, and they will thoughtlessly applaud those who boast of their party loyalty. This third class also includes the wealthy men that have been spoken of who are so devoted to their business that they are willing to buy immunity from plunder on the part of thieves, as well as on the part of city officials, rather than to take the trouble and time to reform the city government. This feeling of theirs is exceedingly natural. A man who is a high-priced man and who is very successful in the conduct of his business, can much better afford, from a financial point of view, to buy protection than he can to take time and run the risk of injuring his business by attempting to reform the city government; and I do not expect in any very short period of time to see any change in this regard.

Now these three classes we have in our community. We shall have very few indeed of the corrupt class converted. The class of reformers we shall extend somewhat, but we need not anticipate much change. The question, then, is simply this: Can we in any way change our method of voting or the form of our government so that the power of the reformers will be increased, and so that the great middle class, which really controls, will be led to vote the right way instead of the wrong way?

It is in this connection that I suggest this system of proportional representation. Each class in the community we must expect will vote in the main for itself. We often speak, of course, about the rule of the majority; we speak of the responsibility of the majority, and we make more or less of a fetish of our democratic government, as we call it; but, as a matter of fact, any one who knows anything about politics knows that we

do not have at the present day the rule of the majority. We have rather, as a general thing, the rule of the most unscrupulous minority. We elect candidates in single districts that are in very many cases subject to the gerrymander. Even without the gerrymander, if more than two candidates are in the field, the plurality vote would elect very often the representative of the minority. Take, for example, New York City. Under the system that exists there, and which practically exists everywhere, a hundred thousand voters—Republicans—have, until the last election, been unrepresented. They happened to belong in each of the separate districts to the minority. In Philadelphia, on the other hand, a large number of Democratic voters are unrepresented because, owing to the same system, the comparative small Republican majorities control and get all the offices. This being true, the reformers, seeing no immediate hope of representation, are likely to keep in the background. And this explains in good part the corruption of our government as it now stands.

It is evidently right that each class in the community be represented in proportion to its strength. This is, of course, what is meant by Democracy. Nobody will object to such representation, except the corrupt and those who think that any scheme of the kind is impracticable. Now the plan, in brief, that I should favor, is this: It is the plan which exists in four of the Swiss cantons, and is called the "Free List System." In case there are boards to be elected, as, for example, a board of aldermen, they would be elected on a general ticket unless the boards were very large. In that case it would be well to divide the city into large districts, each with anywhere from five or six up to fourteen or fifteen councilmen. If there were ten to be elected, each party that wished to—Republican, Democrat, Prohibitionist or Labor Party—might nominate as many candidates as it wished up to ten, the total number that could be elected. The votes would be counted first for the parties rather than for the individuals. Should there be ten thousand ballots cast—four thousand for one party, three thousand for the

second, two thousand for the third and one thousand for the fourth, then the representation would be divided in the same way. We should elect for this board of councilmen four of the first party, three of the second, two of the third and one of the fourth. This is, in brief, the system. Under our present system the party that cast four thousand votes would get the whole board.

We cannot here, in the brief time that is allotted, consider all the phases of this question, but I may mention one or two of the advantages of this system that would tend toward good city government. Those who are really interested in good government could get, at any rate, some representation on our governing boards. They then would be in a position to advocate, to discuss and to bring to the notice of the public all of the good plans of the reformers. Moreover, they would be in a position to see better and to check the corrupt practices of those who are not in favor of good government. This good class in the community has now very little chance to get any representation. Again, under the present condition of affairs the evil classes in the community are able to get much more than their fair proportion of representation because they are willing to resort to any means whatever to get the votes, means that the better classes in the community will not resort to. Under the proposed system corruption would be checked. The corrupt classes would have only their proportion, and that they ought to have. The saloonkeepers, the example that is so frequently brought forward, would be sure to have their representatives—they are very sure of having them now. Their interests are of the very greatest importance, at least to them, and they ought to have a chance to defend them, but they ought to have only their due share.

An objection that will certainly be raised to the plan is, that it would open the door to cranks and fanatics of all descriptions. Of course, one can simply say that this is true if such people can cast their fair quota of votes; but under that condition they ought to have representation. Moreover, it would not be a

serious evil if the boards of aldermen or the State legislatures were occasionally to hear an unpractical man give expression to his unpractical ideals. They hear too little about ideals now.

Another benefit that might come from this plan is this: It would, perhaps, do more than anything else to divorce our local and national parties, our local and national interests. If some people in the community were especially interested, let us say in the schools, that party would get one or more representatives on the board. The same thing would hold true of other interests. There would be only one or two or a few representatives from each of these classes, and after a comparatively short time we might expect that all voters would divide in local politics very largely along the line of their own economic interests.

Again, under this system it would be quite rarely the case that any one party would have a majority vote—a complete majority in its own hands. That would be a good thing. Some people are opposed to the system on the ground that we should lose a responsible majority party; but when a party is able to control, and control absolutely, the prize of victory is a very great one indeed, and party victory may be dangerous to the State. Take, for example, the State of New York. The fact that the State was so nearly divided, and that the Democrats believed they would carry both houses of the legislature, was what led only two years ago to the worst scandal, perhaps, that has taken place in the State for many years. If the prize had not been so great for getting that one last seat in the Senate there would have been no scandal. With no majority party, the prizes of an election would be so much less that corruption would be greatly lessened. This has been told me by friends in Switzerland to be the effect of the system there.

One might mention other reforms that proportional representation would favor, *e. g.*, civil service reform, but perhaps enough examples have been given.

In brief, then, this may be said: Proportional representation is just; it will enable the various interests and classes in society openly and fairly to secure results that now have to be

secured by indirect, or even by illegal means, or that cannot be secured at all. It will aid practically all other political reforms.

It must not be thought that this system is a panacea for all evils in society or for all evils in municipal government. Society is too complicated for single remedies. Those who advocate panaceas are generally quacks. Our present system of plurality representation gives us an oligarchy of the corrupt and the wealthy. (I do not mean to class the two together, but they are very frequently joint beneficiaries at any rate). The system that is advocated looks toward the true Democracy.

RESULTS OBTAINED BY VOLUNTARY AND TEMPORARY MOVEMENTS.

WILLIAM G. LOW, BROOKLYN.

This subject has been given for treatment at this Conference of the National Municipal League, and, therefore, it will be understood that the movements to be considered are such as have occurred, or may yet occur, in cities. And, as our Conference looks to practical influence, I suppose movements under conditions which now exist, and at or about the present time, are those which chiefly concern us.

They have been numerous and widely occurring, and, in some shape or other, have come under the observation of or been participated in by most of us. Doubtless, some may have resulted unsuccessfully and caused disappointment; but I doubt if any has acquired substantial impetus without some beneficial and lasting effect upon the political life of the community in which it took shape. If the object aimed at has not always been attained, at least light has been admitted into dark places, the attention of the community has been aroused and some men have been strengthened for good by the experience and skill gained in the putting forth of the effort. When the next occasion for activity comes around they are better prepared to take hold, and they start from an advanced position to assault the lines of wrong doing or corruption. The very fact of movement is indicative of growth and life, and its very nature is opposed to corruption, decay and death. There is a famous passage in Dante's "Inferno," where the shades of the departed notice that what their living visitor touches, moves! Old Chiron, the centaur, says to his companion: "Are ye aware that he who comes behind moves what he touches? The feet of the dead are not so wont."

There have been great voluntary and temporary move-

ments in the histories of cities that mark epochs therein; that attend crises and result in enduring upliftings of their public life. For some it is enough to make the statement to bring to mind events which justify it in more than one city. To narrate these events in full would require a volume, and the volume should be a composite one, the chapters of which should be contributed by representatives from the various cities that have had the experiences. My own more immediate environment is what I shall have to talk about; but as I fancy that there is a strong resemblance in the phenomena, no matter where they occur, the consideration of these results may be taken as fairly representative of results from such movements in general.

Take, first, the great uprising in 1871 against the "Tweed" domination in New York. A Committee of Seventy was formed by independent and courageous citizens, irrespective of party, that played a conspicuous and important part in the overthrow of the dominant influence, though this was strongly entrenched in the city and State. Things had reached such a pass that the great bulwarks of liberty and equality, the tribunals of justice, were affected and the powers of equity were made the instruments of unrighteousness. But this movement put a stop to this. The judges in fault were driven from the bench, which has ever since been more highly esteemed, and Tweed himself was consigned to prison, where his career ended. Not only so, but a great principle was imbedded in our New York law through the influence of these events, viz., that a private person, paying taxes to a certain amount, can bring suit against public officials to prevent waste of public property and funds. This seems so well worth attention that I do not mind emphasizing it. It is thoroughly American in principle, as in one view it is that which distinguishes the American from the English Constitution. Our written instrument enables us to appeal successfully to a court of justice for protection against any invasion of our constitutional rights by the legislative or executive departments of the Government, while in Great Britain the action

of their legislature declares what is the Constitution, and is of itself law to the courts.

If the movement of 1871 had accomplished nothing more than the establishment of this principle it would have produced a lasting and valuable result. We felt the benefit of it in 1893 in Brooklyn, where it was the first weapon used by a private citizen and his counsel in opening the successful movement against our reigning boss and his allies.

Through it the courts were successfully invoked to prevent an expensive scheme from being carried through by the public authorities, and while every effort has been made to defeat such action, it has been triumphant, our highest Court of Appeal, since this Conference was called together, having affirmed the decision of the lower courts. The result has been a saving of nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars in money to the city, and more than the money gain was the moral effect and the shaping of the events that followed. A Committee of 100 was formed on the lines of civic patriotism and non-partisanship, and the results of its existence have been valuable and are still felt. I will mention one lesson it taught, and I do it partly because it caught the inspiration for its action from a Committee of 100 that had done good service in Philadelphia a number of years before. Colonization and fraudulent registration being evident from a scrutiny of the registry lists, a fund was formed out of which to reward any giving evidence leading to conviction of a violation of the election laws, with the result, judging from the large and unwonted difference between the number of votes registered and the number of votes cast, of preventing much and important fraud.

These very registration laws were, in part at least, the fruit of a temporary uprising of the people of Brooklyn, caused by a brazen and outrageous election fraud. A feature of this was that in one district five hundred votes were cast before the polls opened, which was plainly shown by the polling books, the man who voted second after the polls were opened at sunrise being the five hundred and second name on the lists. I remember well

the indignation meeting at our Academy of Music and the story told thereat by an ex-mayor of how he had saved his election by spreading over the city on the afternoon of election day an estimate of his lead in the voting of about one-half of its actual size. He told us that he was elected by a majority of nearly that one-half, and attributed his success to his forethought. So it can be plainly seen that that effort and the one in Philadelphia helped to furnish material for the purifying flame which burned so brightly and helpfully for us in 1893. Though the torch was laid aside in one place its fire was used to kindle another when the occasion arose, and it can do so again if necessary.

It is already plain to you, I am sure, that, while a movement may be voluntary and temporary, it by no means follows that its results may not take permanent shape in legal enactments and lasting influences.

Besides the Committee of 100, we had the Citizens' Union of Kings County, formed on the following platform:

1. New men and new methods in Kings County politics. An end to the use of political power and public office for private gain.

2. For mayor, irrespective of opinions on national party politics, any man with a conscience and courage, who will recognize no master but the people—all the people. For every other city and county office, the same sort of men.

3. Home rule in local affairs.

4. Tax public franchises.

This was a powerful movement, non-partisan in character, of merely local scope and, at first, temporary in purpose, but it has affiliated itself with this League, and it is hoped that it may continue to exist and be productive of good.

The recent movement in New York is still fresh in your mind; indeed, it is still under strong headway. I embody here a memorandum, substantially his, furnished me by Mr. Charles Stewart Smith, the chairman of the Committee of 70, whose duties connected therewith have prevented his being with us.

I think that you will agree that a man actively engaged in such good work on the field of battle for reform should be excused if he is not able to be present in the forum to tell of his triumphs.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED WITHIN TWELVE MONTHS IN
NEW YORK CITY IN THE MATTER OF MUNICIPAL REFORM.

In May, 1892, Dr. Parkhurst, from his pulpit, opened fire upon Tammany Hall. At that time many sensible men regarded his action as futile as Don Quixote's fight with the windmill. But Dr. Parkhurst's character is not inaptly described by the Bowery boy's reply to a recent tirade in a Tammany election meeting against Dr. Parkhurst on the part of Police Justice Grady: "Tom Grady, he is a stayer; look out when he gets after you."

He moved on with majestic force and as tireless as a steam engine, calumny notwithstanding. In a year the community began to admire his pluck, although still doubting his discretion. A few began to believe that a leader was on the field, and that it was not fair that he should make the fight alone. The press, a little later, almost universally came to his support and had faith in the man; his winged words were read every morning by millions of readers all over the country. No city journal could satisfy its readers without an interview with Parkhurst. Then the police department and Tammany's management were placed under the microscope for examination.

In the fall of 1893 the Chamber of Commerce, the oldest and most influential commercial institution in the United States, with a membership of one thousand, comprising most of the great merchants, bankers and manufacturers of the city, demanded an inquiry into the truth of the charges made by Dr. Parkhurst against the police department, and they sent a delegation to the legislature which resulted in the appointment of the Lexow Committee.

The revelations of the Lexow Committee, under the magnificent leadership of Goff, aroused public opinion. The people

saw that the decline and fall of government by the people was inevitable unless this tide of corruption and the foul blood, engendered by Tammany Hall, that ruled New York City, was destroyed, *root and branch*. Tammany was clearly exposed, and that organization was shown to be the oppressor of the poor widow and orphan, the fatherless and the fallen, as well as the rich and powerful. All classes were intimidated by this conscienceless power which seemed impregnable.

The Committee of 70, created by an uprising of the people in the fall of this year, less than sixty days before election, voiced public sentiment, and led the way to the revolution which culminated in the election of November 6th. We have now a mayor-elect who can be depended upon to redeem the city by every act in his power. Sub-committees of the Committee of 70 are studying all the questions which involve the health, morality and good government of the city. The tenement-house system, baths and lavatories, small parks for the people in the over-crowded parts of the city, the docks and the drink question are some of these. Reports by experts will soon be made public upon the questions referred to, which will be the result of a careful examination and inquiry, aided by the experience of other cities at home and in Europe. The temper of the people will not permit any interference with carrying out the contemplated plans for reform. Any public officer or private citizen who attempts, for party or private reasons, to obstruct the result will become a criminal before the bar of public opinion.

I resume. Probably you have frequently heard it said, or seen it written, that these uprisings of the citizens are all well enough, but they do not last; things soon settle back into their accustomed ruts and the same old practitioners take charge of the public interests. It is an easy enough remark for an inactive looker-on to make, and to a superficial observer there is enough justification to give it a color of plausibility. But I do not believe you can get those who have taken part in the struggle to go forward, and whose hearts are enlisted in the cause, to admit that it is quite true.

Rarely, I fancy, in the most discouraging cases, do things settle back to exactly their former state. It may even be, as a distinguished member of the present Committee of 70 in New York said to me: "That for every two feet that we go ahead we slip back one." But it can be mathematically demonstrated that this process, painful and laborious though it be, results in a steady progress. The waves of a rising tide at first impress the beholder just so. If, however, one only waits awhile and observes carefully he will get plenty of satisfactory evidence, as old King Canute did, that the tide does rise and that a higher power than that of man rules the sea. The great river that flows by this city has its back currents and eddies, and, mayhap, often and unlooked-for direction, but the main movement and flow is ever forward on its course through its centuries of miles, yes, its centuries of leagues, to the great gulf—its destination—the great gulf which opens into the wide and all-embracing ocean beyond.

Some one may suggest that, granted the usefulness of your movements, are they worth while? Might not the same zeal and devotion be more wisely and profitably expended otherwise? Let us consider this "otherwise." What are the alternatives? The one most commonly suggested is that of the national political parties. It is said: "Work through your party." Suppose we take up this first. It can be treated by the *a priori* and *a posteriori* methods. Starting from the former, we perceive that the national parties do not commonly divide and "line up" on the issues that are practically the live ones in city affairs. Their platforms deal with great principles that interest the people in the management of their affairs as a nation. The tariff and the currency may divide parties, while the citizens of a municipality may be in substantial accord on these topics. At the time of our last mayoralty contest both parties in our State were in accord on the currency question.

Then, too, the vast machinery of the national parties is too cumbrous and ponderous for use in attending to the detail of the management of the hundreds of cities within our borders.

We are told, it is true, that a massive steam trip hammer

can be handled so delicately as to crack an egg shell. But, even so, is it considered the best way to get our egg shells cracked? And then our shells are not all of the same size or color. To cope effectively with the varied problems in the different cities in all their details would require an adjustment of the working party machinery so as to satisfy conflicting aims and interests to such an extent that it could only be accomplished in one way, and that is by the sacrifice of the local interests to the national welfare. If you choose to argue that this should be done, as party victory in the city helps to party victory in the nation, we meet you with the question: "How does it do so?" Does the election of officers to carry on the business of a municipality convince men that their views on the currency or tariff are wrong? Or do you really intend to get the benefit of the salaries, paid for the service of the city, by taxing them to carry on the propagation of principles which, it may be, are not those of a majority of the taxpayers, as may well happen in the city wherein I dwell, as a considerable section of the electoral population pays no taxes. Or, do you wish to build on an unintelligent exercise of the great franchise? Some of us believe that it is not necessary to sacrifice the city to save the State, and that if you continue the practice, in time, the result will be the ruin of the nation.

Now, *a posteriori*, the sacrifice of the locality is just what we have found. We find that when the issue as to which is the best way to vote for the good of the city has been practically decided by public discussion in the press and elsewhere, then comes the argument, "Consider the effect upon the country, upon congress or the next presidential election." Exactly this happened in Brooklyn in 1893. When the "ring" found itself being overborne in the public discussion out went the instructions to its speakers: "Make the discussion on the point that the national administration may be injured. Tariff reform may suffer." I am glad to say that the appeal did not avail, and that the national administration also kept its hands off.

Also we find that official salaries are called upon, and that

the prospective spoils of office as a resource for the party exchequer are calculated upon.

Finally, the working through party has practically *failed*, in that it has become evident that it does not accomplish the desired result. The aims of the party leaders and managers not being distinctively for the good of the city so much as for the benefit of the party and their position therein, it can hardly be expected that they should attain the end not aimed at, except incidentally and accidentally. How could members of the Democratic party have aided reform in Brooklyn and New York of late through their party? To their credit be it said that, whatever their views on national issues, they ignored national party lines for those drawn in the city. So far as my experience goes our municipal gains have usually taken place when men have thus forsaken party lines and have acted independently thereof for the civic good. The parties, it seems to me, can best help the cities by doing their work well in their own proper spheres and giving the municipal corporations a fair chance to manage their own business with a single eye to its successful operation. Let them engage in healthy emulation as to which shall enunciate the best principles and frame the best laws and they will find abundant scope for their energies and be most helpful to good city government.

Now for the other alternative in the "otherwise." This I apprehend to be that the movements, while voluntary in their inception, should forsake their temporary character and become more or less permanent. This I at once admit to be a very living suggestion.

The temporary, voluntary movement is certainly very thoroughly American. We have recognized the principle on sea and on land, though in the former case less of late than in former days. Have we not on the sea relied upon the privateer as a powerful resource in time of war, and on the land is not our reliance for the same dread season upon the myriads of volunteers that would spring to arms at their country's call to serve "for three years or the war?" I think a little reflection will

satisfy us all that our whole life, especially in the less thickly settled and more newly organized parts of the country, is permeated with this way of doing things, even in extreme cases, down to the administration of criminal justice by vigilance committees and the regrettable Judge Lynch. Is not this principle, too, allied to the American quality of being able to turn one's hand to almost anything? When the busy men, who make up the backbone of the community, find things getting too bad in the business of governing cities, what more natural to Americans, than to drop their various tools and all take hold for a time to set things straight, and having done this to go back again to their regular occupations.

But, gentlemen, as our life in this country gets more complex and the population denser and the specialization of industry more complete, it would seem that in our great cities, at least, this way of doing things needs strengthening and improvement. I take it that this is what has led to the establishment of the National Municipal League. While the movements may be temporary, they should, at least, last longer and acquire some of the skill and power that comes from a longer-maintained observation of the facts and a more thorough comparison of their effects. This the League is striving to bring about, and it hopes by a united effort, shared in by all parts of our beloved country, to be of real use in aiding the cause of municipal progress which is being seen more and more plainly to be of vast importance. May it be abundantly successful.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUES AND GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS.

HERBERT WELSH, PHILADELPHIA.

The movement for good city government which is now spreading over the United States, which has produced a ferment of thought in a thousand active minds, stirred a thousand brave men and women to courageous action and has fought its first great effective fight in New York, presses at once the question: "What is the sound theory which should guide the work? What the reliable, practical methods in which that theory finds its safe channel, its guarantee of growing life and achievement?" We can work neither well nor long unless both these questions be rightly answered, so clearly, indeed, that, through even the darkest moment of the struggle, we shall never have a shadow of doubt of what we are really trying to do, or that the ways and means by which we are trying to do it are sound and good. The city is the battle-ground on which must be fought the fight for honesty, justice and good method in American public life. Here are focused intellectual and material national interests. In it we are to determine whether trickery, greed and self-interest are to have the mastery in American public affairs, or whether the enlightened conscience and instructed mind of a liberty-loving people are to find their fullest expression in American politics. It is not for pure water or bright gas, or clean streets that we are struggling primarily, though they will all come as the attending fruit of our success, but for those larger, nobler things in which every American head that thinks straight and heart that beats true is well assured our national dignity and safety are involved. Anything less than this is hardly worth the cost of toil and time and money which this movement involves, but this great thing, our national safety and honor, is

well worth them all. We do not join hands for this long war to pay court to the coquetry of unscrupulous or ignorant municipal officials, thinking to get by supplication or deference, by wire pulling or private influence, such favor as they have a mind to give without questioning the means by which their power is got or the end to which they use it. But we are banded together to have the affairs of our great cities—New York or Chicago, Minneapolis or Philadelphia—transacted honestly, not corruptly; wisely, economically, not foolishly or negligently, by the most intelligent and honest men the community can give, not by the most irresponsible, the most ill-equipped, the most unscrupulous. Nor do we demand only make-shifts in legislation affecting our cities suited to the needs of to-day. We recognize the great and growing problems involved in this municipal question. Thousands upon thousands of human beings, holding the most diverse positions in life, have their welfare bound up in the question. The health, physical and moral, body and mind, of working boys and girls, of men and women, of artisans, of merchants or professional men, will depend more and more closely as the multiplying years roll on upon the kind of city government which we demand to-day. Religion, education, science, the best practical wisdom in affairs, should at once unite to make the great city the noblest instrumentality for the moral and physical regeneration of all classes of its inhabitants, and most particularly should we concern ourselves for the welfare of those least able to help themselves—the day laborer, the wage earner, the factory hand. The city, in our thought, must at once become, not the long, dull perspective of brick and stone, the chance agglomeration of thousands of uninteresting and unrelated lives, but what it truly is, the great theatre of moral and intellectual ideas and of progress in which its million inhabitants labor together, not in thinly disguised hostility and rivalry, but knit together in the warm bonds of human brotherhood, and amidst all their individual and separate callings, inspired by a great common ambition, a single noble purpose, the welfare of their race, the alleviation of human suffering, the

bridging of dangerous social gaps, the enjoyment of a common human inheritance. Our city of the future may indeed become, if we but work intelligently—practically—for the realization of our ideal, one whose walls are agate, whose gates are pearl and its streets fine gold. Did we not believe this, that the greatest and noblest of purposes really lay in the heart of this municipal movement, it would not have been worth while to come from Philadelphia to Minneapolis to talk to you of Municipal Leagues and Good Government Clubs. Here we are met, then, with our second question: What practical steps are necessary in order to work with wisdom and courage toward the realization of a high ideal? A noble aspiration wastes itself in an idle froth of sentimentality, winning deserved contempt unless it incarnates itself in a vigorous body which men can at least see and from which they can get hard knocks when the right time comes. The theoretical foe which we are fighting—fraud, foolishness, inefficiency—has long since found its body in what we call the political machine; that vicious progeny of blind partisanship which has proved the most unruly and tyrannous of offsprings.

The Municipal League or combined Good Government Clubs of a great city should be the organized expression of the city's higher life, through which every good wise man and woman in the community has the fullest possible opportunity to make war upon the machine. I say make war, for consider what the machine really is. It is the organized expression of the city's worst and most dangerous forces; according to the degree of fidelity with which the machine obeys the law of its own being, will it be the exponent of all that is bad in the city's life. The rum shop, the brothel—crimes of varying form—turn to it as their helper and defender; in it the ballot-box stuffer, the corruptionist, the municipal parasite, find their friend and patron. A Municipal League should aim to effect an organization as perfect and detailed as the machine, securing just as the machine does the indispensable aid of social influence and intercourse, having its rewards and punishments—its discipline—just as the machine does, only with this difference, a difference, by the way,

as wide as heaven is from hell, and which consists in this, that while the machine secures obedience to unscrupulous acts by illegitimate rewards, and commands men to cheat at elections and to violate their conscience by living and speaking falsehoods, and while it rewards them for so doing by giving them offices which ought only to be held for the public good, and while it punishes them for not doing Satan's work by depriving them of office, of work, of reward, the Municipal League calls men to duty for love of their country and their kind; but it leaves them always free to use their own consciences in determining the course they should follow in any particular case. It aims to inform men of the facts in specific cases so that they may vote aright, but it leaves them finally alone with the ballot and their own sense of duty. The machine is the discipline of unscrupulous tyranny; the Municipal League that of enlightened, organized liberty. An effective Municipal League or associated Good Government Clubs in a great city secures for it a strong central board of management or executive committee, representative in character, getting part of its membership from the various wards or districts of the city, as delegates of ward organizations, and part by annual election from the general membership of the League. This central board of management should, of course, have on it the strongest men obtainable; the strongest in experience, in initiative, in resource. The board has two great functions: First, educational; second, administrative. The community must be instructed systematically and continuously—not spasmodically—by speakers, by pamphlets, through the columns of the press, by personal conversation, by parlor meetings—a most effective device for getting at people's hearts and heads—as to the general purposes of the League; the general needs of the city as to specific needs at critical moments—an election contest, for example. Clergymen and public men in various professions and walks of life must be informed, not as to the purposes of the League, but as to the various forms of corruption with which the League contends. The importance of these phases of work cannot be over estimated or the

variety of opportunity which they afford for the exercise of ability and the choice of expedients be conceived. The apathy and ignorance of a great community which has long suffered the rule of a corrupt political ring, and has had the poison of its corruption running through its civic veins is—to those obliged to deal with it—appalling. Education of the most pervasive and systematic kind is needed to overcome it. But it can be overcome, and the way to work is to go direct to the great centres of moral influence, seek out intelligent women of all classes, women who believe in right and hate wrong. Explain to them just how the political machine fosters and protects moral evil, and at once you have obtained a most powerful auxiliary force, always enthusiastic and untiring. Then go to the ministers of all denominations, choosing, so far as possible, those of deep moral convictions, of sound sense and of a courage that will not fear the protest of the monied pews. The good earnest people who will help the League's work are found in every class—least, perhaps, in that which represents great wealth. It is just here that one great incidental benefit of this work comes in, by bringing together good people, widely separated, and who would not ordinarily meet; class distinctions are erased, suspicions are removed, and a feeling of common brotherhood, a co-operation in unselfish endeavor, is engendered. It is quite indispensable to effective League work that a highly equipped, able executive officer, who can give his whole time to the work, should be obtained. Such a man should be paid an adequate salary. He is the pivot on which success hinges.

It is a part of our problem to so organize the great body of citizens, who approve the principles on which a Municipal League works, that each may be willing to give a small but continuous share of labor and support to the League's cause, but this cannot be done successfully unless there be an executive officer, thoroughly trained and efficient, who can give his entire time to it. It is quite essential that a large city should accept the truth that Municipal League work is the *permanent* and not the spasmodic organization of forces working for good city

government, and that, therefore, its machinery must be of the most efficient and permanent kind. The appeal of municipal reformers, though it affect ultimately questions of self-interest, is essentially a moral one ; it meets with strong opposition from many persons in influential positions whose investments, whether in money or ambition, are interlaced with "politics" and political machines. On such ears the appeal for good city government falls lifeless. Were the plain call to duty and right to be responded to, springs of money making would be dried up, social interests threatened, or in the case of a clergyman, prominent men in the church be offended. Therefore, most help is to be expected from young men, who still believe, with the uncorrupted spirit of youth, that the moral and religious principles taught in childhood are intended for frank and logical application in daily life, not as withered flowers to serve as sad reminders of the vitality of a departed summer ; from preachers and teachers who believe that the value of spiritual truth and intellectual training mainly consists in the power to possess, to beget and nourish noble living ; and from women who enter with a pure mind and unquenchable faith into the present struggle for a better future. All these elements of moral and intellectual force may be looked to with confidence to enter into faithful, patient, detailed work for good city government.

We, of Philadelphia, where nearly the entire press of the city is either in open alliance or covert sympathy with the machine and the evil influences that cluster about it, are at present greatly hindered in our effort to reach the ear of the public. We have no organ through which we can utter facts and arguments that we wish to lay before the voters. We trust that before long we may be able to meet this crying need by an organ of our own. In the meanwhile we have found that parlor meetings, while they reach a comparatively small number of people, reach them in a very convincing way. They make lasting converts. They supply a certain social quality, which is a good lubricant for the shot we want to fire ; it is what the greased patch was to the old-fashioned rifle ball.

The New York Good Government Club is using this same social element in its district work by establishing clubs which are more or less social in character. They are to the Good City Government movement just what the saloon is to the machine. If people are to work well together they must know each other and have constant opportunity for easy conference and discussion. In the merited praise given Dr. Parkhurst for his heroic courage and splendid leadership in the recent conflict with Tammany, the thorough and effective work done by the Good Government Club "workers and watchers" should be included. Two very valuable and suggestive illustrations of such work are given in the *Outlook* of November 17th. Indeed, so important is it for practical workers in other cities to know of the courage and skill displayed by these unnamed Good Government Club men, that it would be quite worth while to print the story of their experiences for general reading.

The brief history of the Municipal League's work in Philadelphia is not without encouragement to municipal reformers, though the work of reform in that city is more difficult than in New York on account of that protectorate which large numbers of our "best citizens" have given the machine. We cannot boast of a municipal wickedness so lurid and so flaunting as that to which, let us trust, Dr. Parkhurst has recently given the *coup de grace*, but we face a civic corruption, an indifference to public honor, a confusion of right and wrong, which is even harder to deal with because it is interlaced more inextricably with the business, the press, the education and even the religion of the community. An enemy in scarlet uniform is a fairer mark than one in gray. Our League numbers twenty-five hundred members, with a very encouraging increase daily. Its membership and Board of Management consists mainly of young men. It has twelve ward associations, and some members in all of the thirty-seven wards of the city. It has, as yet, no very notable achievements to boast of beyond carrying on an educational work and effecting an agitation of important questions relating to city affairs, viz., the corruption of the City Council by great corporations, the squandering of city franchises, political assess-

ments of city employees and similar questions. The League has, however, defeated several unfit candidates for election to the City Council, and has elected good men in their place. But its main work lies before it and has only begun.

Municipal Leagues and Good Government Clubs are worthy of national attention, of a hearing from cities West and East, of the politicians and the people, because they point the way to a stronger, cleaner national life. They are the barracks and recruiting stations of a new force in American politics, a new Grand Army of the Republic, whose drums beat and bugles blow, not as the requiem of a buried struggle, or the pean of a freshly-cemented union, but the reveille of the rising manhood of America to the defense of free institutions, the vindication of public virtue and popular rights, of conscience and duty in public life against the insidious assaults of lawless wealth and popular anarchy.

I do not know whether these words, spoken by one coming from the staid Quaker City to men of the fresh, strong West, suggest the fever of exaggeration. How far Minneapolis or other great Western cities have developed the germs of municipal corruption, which in some of our seaboard cities have engendered such teeming life, I do not know. The men of the West have been less fettered by precedent than the older communities of the country, and have had the mistakes of others to profit by. I imagine that here the civic structure is more pliant, and that more independence and initiative are to be found in the community, rendering the task of city government building along right lines easier than with us. But of this I am assured—that humanity is the same in East and West, and that there is an essential similarity throughout the country in those forces of evil on the one side and of good on the other, which seek to mould our national character and to control our national destiny. This struggle will be sharpest in our great cities—it is the struggle for sound moral principles in politics and of honest administration; its issues are as far-reaching as those which engaged at Sumpter, for they determine the fate of free institutions and popular government; and to meet them men of the West and East should be united.

THE ELEMENTS OF A MODEL CHARTER FOR AMERICAN CITIES.

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In the course of my discussion of a model city charter I shall have occasion to refer frequently to the city of Philadelphia. This is not only because I know more about the government of Philadelphia than that of any other American city, but also because Philadelphia has, in my opinion, made most substantial contributions to the theory and practice of good city government in the United States. My references, therefore, to Philadelphia may seem a little inconsistent with the reports sent out to the country of remarks imputed to me in an address on City Government before the last meeting of this body in the city of New York in May of this year. I take, therefore, this opportunity of correcting the report sent out at that time. I did not say that Philadelphia was governed by a set of thieves and rascals, as I was made to say in that report. On the contrary, I expressly called attention to the steadily-improving character of municipal government in that city. My description of city government at its worst in the United States applied to the city of New York under the Tweed ring, and not to Philadelphia at all. I said that in my opinion Philadelphia had made a most valuable contribution to the better government of American cities by its Bullitt charter, and that the present administration of the city was the best it had ever had since the group of villages on the Delaware and Schuylkill had become a city in 1854. Furthermore, the defects in our present city government can be largely traced to defective organization; in other words, to defects in our present city charter, as I developed over a year ago in the book on "The City Government of Philadelphia," pub-

lished by the Wharton School of Finance and Economy, University of Pennsylvania. The administration of Philadelphia, I said in that volume, may well bear comparison with that of the best-governed cities in the United States. It is not, alas, a model government, nor is that of any other American city yet; but it is distinctly better than ever before, and it has a basis upon which to build which is distinctly better than that of many of its sister cities.

When the committee asked me to write a paper on "The Elements of a Model City Charter" I declined to attempt such an impossible task. I am sure that a model city charter must be something special and peculiar, exactly adapted to local and temporal conditions, and, consequently, any attempt to sketch out in detail a model city charter of a general sort would be absurd. That scheme of government is the ideal one, to my mind, which, under any given set of conditions, makes the working of good influences easy and that of bad influences hard—a form of government under which all the excellences of which a people or a community is capable in a political sense can be realized. If this is a correct view it is certain that the ideal form of government for one community or one time must, of necessity, be different for another community or another time. It would be idle, therefore, to attempt to sketch an ideal form of city government if it were intended to apply to more than one community, since each community is sufficiently individual to require some special form in order to realize the highest possibilities of excellence.

Although it is impossible, therefore, to sketch out in detail an ideal form of city charter for any other than a single city, and a single period in the life of that city, yet it is undoubtedly true that if we take the communities of any civilized country of homogeneous character there will be certain conditions common to them all, and to the extent to which these communities are similar, it is, of course, possible to construct a form of government which would be applicable to all.

It is very easy to make the mistake of supposing that it is possible to construct the city governments of one country upon

the model of those of another and thereby realize the excellences in the actual working of the latter. Nothing is more difficult, however, than to draw accurate lessons from history of such a character as to serve as guides in the construction of present policy, except possibly the attempt to draw lessons from contemporaneous experiments, which are carried on under such dissimilar conditions as to make them entirely inapplicable.

I do not mean by this, of course, to disparage the study of the experiments of city governments in other countries and in other times; on the contrary, I regard such study as of vital importance, but from a different point of view from the one ordinarily taken. The study of what European cities are doing to-day, for example, to improve the health and comfort of their inhabitants, is, to my mind, a source of great inspiration to all American students. The contemplation of the things actually achieved in Europe along certain lines must have the result of convincing us that we ought not to be satisfied with anything less than the best which has been thus far achieved either in Europe or America. And I have no doubt that the study of the actual details of administration along all lines of city government will be of great aid in giving us suggestions as to the way in which efficiency can be secured at points where we have thus far failed to secure it. But the political conditions under which the governments of European cities have thus far been organized and administered are so radically different from our own that we cannot expect to get from them, or from the study of their successes or failures, very much practical aid and support in constructing our own political organization.

No European city of large size has had anything like the same problems to solve on the political side of its administration as our own cities; and while the objects to be attained—of peace and order, of well-paved streets, of good schools, of good water, of good light, of sanitary conditions in general—are the same, the obstacles in the way of securing these things in the two continents are at many points of a radically different character.

No one could have studied, for example, the actual method of administration in the best governed of English or German

cities without being struck by the fact that it is based, generally speaking, on government by committees, a system which, inherited by our American commonwealths from England, broke down absolutely and completely under the stress of modern political developments in the United States. The form of government under which Dublin and London and Berlin are well administered, has proven itself an absolute failure in our larger American cities. In no place in Europe have they as yet had a fair test of what universal suffrage means; in no place in Europe have they had to contend, politically, with the elements of a foreign population which are to be found in so many of our American cities. I do not mean to say by this that the foreign elements themselves have been responsible for the evils of city misgovernment; but only that the mixture of so many nationalities, the lack of homogeneousness in the population, has made the problem of city government infinitely more difficult than it otherwise would have been. You may take good elements from half a dozen different populations, throw them together into one political community and immediately a new set of difficulties in the government of that community will arise from the lack of homogeneity of political ideas, of intellectual sympathies, etc., entirely independent of the better or the worse character of the separate elements themselves.

The elements of a good city charter, then, for European conditions may be radically different from those suitable to American conditions, and we cannot for the present receive much aid from the study of European city governments in respect to many of the most difficult questions which are pressing upon us for solution. In what I shall say of the elements of a good city government, or of a good charter, or of an ideal charter, I have reference primarily, then, to American conditions, to American conditions of to-day and of the near future, to American conditions as they show themselves in our large cities.

Even here there will be peculiarities in the different sections of the country which will make variations in the different cities

necessary or desirable. It will be found that one device works well in one place under one set of conditions which will break down at another place under a different set. We shall have to limit ourselves, therefore, in this discussion to what may be called the most general considerations.

Another proposition in regard to the nature of the subject I must advance before taking up the question before us in detail. A good city charter, or an ideal city charter, as I suggested before, is a charter which, under a given set of conditions of time and of place, will allow the good elements and good forces in the community the advantage over the evil elements and evil influences. An ideal city charter, therefore, must, above all, have reference to what is possible under the conditions prevailing. It must take account of the political genius and traditions, and, if you please, of the political prejudices of the people. It may be ideal, but it must not be utopian.

It seems to me that our American experience demonstrates that any scheme of city government, based upon a limited suffrage, is a utopian one under the actual political conditions prevailing in the United States. Any scheme of government which confers upon the so-called good citizens, or better elements of society, any special privileges, either in the way of voting or of governing, is condemned to failure from the start. We must put before ourselves, then, the problem, what kind of a city government is the best, considering the fact that universal manhood, and, perhaps, ere long womanhood suffrage also, must be accepted as a fundamental proposition at the outset. If my view of this be correct, all the propositions looking toward having a special smaller body elected by the large taxpayers, with a veto upon expenditure, and all propositions looking toward a limited suffrage, based either upon education or upon property, may be dismissed for the present as chimerical, and as not entering into the practical problem as to what constitutes a good city charter for our American cities. Certainly, no charter can be good, even if you could secure its adoption, which should be based upon principles so fundamentally opposed to the general

course of political development in the United States as to arouse continued and growing opposition in the great mass of the community. There are other propositions which might also be advanced in regard to this subject, which, however, will appear in the course of our discussion.

I have said that no city charter can be ideal except some specific and special charter for some particular city at some particular time. This has reference, of course, to an actual charter, which should contain all the detailed provisions necessary for putting into operation a city government, with the modern functions and the modern machinery for such a political organism. On the other hand, I take it that there is no doubt that there is a sufficiently large number of cities in the United States of America whose populations are, roughly speaking, similar enough; whose experiences are, roughly speaking, along closely enough related lines; whose problems are, roughly speaking, so nearly the same that we may advance certain general propositions which would be nearly enough true for all practical purposes of all of them alike, and the truth of which has been demonstrated by our experience in city government in the United States.

My object, to-day, therefore, is to sketch out briefly what it seems to me the experience of American cities has demonstrated as to the type of city government on the whole which our American conditions demand, and the first proposition which I should lay down is the following: The ideal city charter, in the sense of the good city charter, of the practical and desirable city charter, would allow to the communities themselves a large degree of self-government—a wide range of autonomy. There would be a general agreement among those who have studied the question, that the city governments of the United States have on the whole not been so successful as other branches of our political organization. We find this fact sometimes stated in the proposition that free government, in the sense of self-government, in American cities has been a failure. I take it that this does not state the exact truth. The fact of it is, in no

American city as yet have we had self-government. No State has been bold enough and wise enough to take the view that the people living within the bounds of a large city are perhaps on the whole the best judges of the peculiar wants and necessities of the locality, and if the responsibility of good government or bad government were thrown directly, and without any recourse, upon themselves, they would probably respond at least as fully and as successfully as the people of the State have responded to their peculiar political problems, or the people of the United States to theirs.

There has been a constant tendency to interference on the part of State governments which is very largely the heritage of the past, and which at one time was a desirable, perhaps a necessary, element in the healthy development of local government. This tendency to interference on the part of the State governments was not the development of wicked and designing politicians, as it is oftentimes represented, but was the result of a directly natural growth which can be traced out in all its stages in the history of the older cities. In Philadelphia, for example, when the city was first established, the governing powers were conferred upon a very small body of citizens, and when these citizens abused their powers, or failed to use them, as the circumstances of the time demanded, we find that the legislature interfered at the request of the great mass of the citizens and in the interest of good government and democratic development, and there seemed to be, in our system of law at the time, no other way in which a peaceful and normal development could be attained. But the advantages of such interference, whatever they were, have long since been realized, and, under a system of interference which seemed to imply that the people in the large cities were infants and needed to be placed under the tutelage of their elder brothers from the country, the disadvantages of continual control of city government by State legislatures have made themselves so plain that all parties are now agreed as to necessity of some limitation.

It is not fair and will not be fair to say that democracy has

broken down in American cities until democracy shall have had a fair chance at self-government in our American cities, and that chance has nowhere been given to the extent to which it is desirable. In other words, a city charter should give to the people of the city the largest degree of self-determination, both as to the form of government and as to the things which the government shall do. It is probable that at present, owing to the fact that American cities are not accustomed to meet these problems in just this way, certain safeguards would have to be thrown around too hasty action. But there is no better method of arousing the interest of the citizens in our cities in the problems of local self-government than that of having to discuss from the bottom up the questions of the proper organization of that government itself. The questions of the powers of the mayor, of the powers of the city councils, of the constitution of city councils, of the relation of one chamber to another, if there are to be two, and the relation of each or both to the chief executive, the proper organization of the executive department itself, are questions which, if they can be discussed in the community itself by the citizens of the community, will do more to arouse public interest in problems of local government than almost anything else that could be devised. The election of a charter convention, the holding of that charter convention in the city, the discussion in that charter convention of every phase of city government, and the publicity which newspapers would give to such discussions, would, in my opinion, be the most important contribution toward arousing interest in the problems of local government which has thus far been made in our American political system. Let the citizens feel the sense of direct responsibility, not merely for bad government in the sense of bad administration, but for a bad organization which makes bad administration easy and good administration difficult, and the community would respond to the efforts to arouse a public interest as no American communities have as yet responded.

I have said that the largest degree of self-determination, or self-government, or autonomy, or whatever you please to call

it, should be granted to the urban communities. I cannot here, of course, go into a discussion of exactly where the lines should be drawn, but, in my mind, there are one or two points at which, owing to the peculiar features of our political system, a special safeguard should be thrown around the action of such communities, at least for some time to come.

The interpretation which our Federal Supreme Court has given to the provision in the Constitution, forbidding States to make laws impairing the obligation of contracts, has thrown a restriction around the action of local bodies, which affects franchises and property rights of individuals, which makes it possible for the representatives of a city to give away for next to nothing the most valuable property rights of the citizens, tying up the possibilities of growth of the community, putting it, so to speak, for an indefinite period to come, in swaddling clothes. It has made the temporary possession of the representative bodies in our cities a matter of such overwhelming advantage to private corporations or individuals seeking their own private advantages at the expense of the community, as to constitute an almost irresistible attraction to combinations of brain and capital. If private corporations can, in a moment of public indifference, secure the election of their representatives to the city councils, they can secure the granting of privileges which render them enormously wealthy, and which, under the protection thrown around the granting of such privileges by the interpretation of our courts, cannot be revoked or diminished.

Owing to the extraordinary character of the interest at stake, therefore, it would seem that certain safeguards ought to be thrown around the too hasty action of urban communities or their representatives in regard to the franchises of those communities. Exactly what these safeguards ought to be it is, of course, difficult to determine even in a concrete case, and perhaps impossible in any general way. But it certainly ought to be made difficult for the people of one generation or their representatives to give away, without any return, the rights and privileges which belong as much to unborn generations as they do

to the living. Perhaps a prohibition upon the granting of franchises, such as street car franchises, or gas or electric light franchises, or water privileges, for more than the lifetime of one generation ought to be incorporated in all State constitutions. There would, of course, be disadvantages connected with it; but, on the whole, the resultant advantages would probably largely outweigh any drawbacks which this provision might carry with it.

Possibly our American political experience may also be considered to have demonstrated the desirability of putting some limit upon the power of making loans. But I think these two provisions would perhaps cover the positive prohibitions that ought to be placed upon the autonomy of urban communities. Of course, it is not proposed to hand over to urban communities either the law-making power as to matters of general interest, such as the constitution of the courts, general laws regarding property and personal rights, etc., or the administration of such matters, to any greater extent than at present. If, then, the actual determination of the city government of the particular constitution and organization of the powers to be given to each department has been conferred by the organic laws upon the communities themselves, the question now arises, has our American political experience given us any pointers as to the desirable form of organization? I am inclined to think it has, and I will mention briefly the points at which I think the development of American city government has thrown light upon the problem.

I should like to say here that while the importance of questions of machinery and organization may be easily over-estimated, I think the tendency, on the whole, is quite as often to under-estimate them. It has been well said that we have never had a form of government in our American cities which has been so bad that if every citizen would do his duty, and as a result good men should be elected to office, we could not have obtained good results. And, on the other hand, we have never had a form of government so good that if the citizens failed to do their duty it would not result in the most disgraceful failure.

But there is, after all, a vast difference between a good mechanism and a bad one to reach a certain result. Devices are oftentimes of infinite importance. The human race had been for centuries well aware of the power of steam, of the enormous energy which it displayed in explosions; but it was reserved for a philosopher of the last century to invent a device by which that steam could be utilized to drive our mills and draw our carts, and thus change the face of civilization. If the political machinery of the community is in such a shape that the citizen, who is honestly desirous of doing his duty with an eye single to the good of the public, finds his energy dissipated, finds that no matter how much effort he puts forth, there is no plain result of permanent good, we may expect to see a gradual paralysis creep over the community. If the energy necessary to produce good government cannot be applied except under such conditions of waste as to practically employ all the available power of the community in producing some faint, spasmodic efforts, we need not expect to see those efforts put forth regularly and repeatedly. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, if we expect to solve our political and social problems, to give a special attention to the matter of our governmental machinery. We have reached a time in our social and political development when we cannot progress much further without the efficient co-operation in many new ways of government—national, State and local. But this co-operation cannot be efficient unless at many points we can improve the structure and the character of our political machinery.

In no department of our political life is this truer than in local or municipal government. The question, then, of the proper scheme of organization in our urban communities for the solution of their local problems is of fundamental importance. Has our American experience given us any indication of the lines along which movement may be made with a likelihood of improving the machinery with which we work? It seems to me that it has, and the following suggestions are submitted as a rough and brief formula of this experience.

In the first place, our American experience has demonstrated the necessity of greater independence and more systematic organization in the executive department of city governments. This includes the greater differentiation of the executive and legislative authority. I am well aware that this is not the teaching of European experimentation in city government; in their best cities the consolidation of the executive and legislative departments seems to be most complete, and it would be difficult to find American cities in which the absolute control of what may be called the legislative department is so complete over what may be called the executive. I am well aware that the system of committee government works well in most of the English cities. But it seems to me that our American experience demonstrates fully and completely that to secure the requisite efficiency and responsibility under our political conditions the executive authority should be differentiated, and vested in the last analysis in a comparatively few persons who can be put under the most constant supervision, both of the public and the representatives of the public. He is a bold man, of course, who prophesies in the field of politics. But evidences are not lacking that the tendencies which, in the form of universal suffrage, have worked such havoc in our city governments are plainly at work already in some of the European cities, and as soon as universal suffrage shall have worked out there its full and complete fruition they will find very many conditions closely resembling those which have existed and exist at present in American cities, and that if the principle of local government advances there as it has advanced here in the last generation, we may expect to find that our experience in the government of cities will be of vastly more advantage to the Europeans of two generations hence than their experience is to us now. In other words, we are the only country which is really trying the experiment of city government on the basis of universal suffrage, with the local freedom from administrative control which is characteristic of our American system of government.

The government of our largest cities should be organized

with an executive department, at the head of which stands a mayor, with the full responsibility of seeing that the laws of the community are executed, and with the power which may be necessary to enable him to do this. This means practically the appointment of the heads of departments, without reference to the wishes of what may be called the legislative branch, however that may be organized. It should be the duty of the mayor to recommend to councils such legislation as he may regard proper, to prepare the estimates of receipts and expenditures, and, in general, to perform the duties of a supreme executive. The general administrative work of the city should be organized under separate departments, to be determined by the work which the city administration undertakes to do, and with the means of securing direct responsibility on the part of each employee of the city. I shall return to the question of the further organization of the executive department under the head of civil service of the city.

The next great question is the organization of the legislative branch. This is to-day, perhaps, the weakest point in our scheme of American city government. The experience of Philadelphia, and of other cities, has demonstrated the fact that an independent executive with large powers is the best guarantee of efficiency in the administrative department, but no thoughtful observer is satisfied with the present constitution of Councils in that city. There have been many explanations of the unsatisfactory results of our present system and many propositions for change. Some people think that it would be better to allow a regular salary to councilmen—they now serve without pay. Others think that there should be only one branch, others that the membership is too large, etc. And these or similar or opposite reasons are given for the failure of the legislative branches in other cities to answer to the fair demands of the public as to efficiency, public spirit and honesty. There seems to be a difficulty in getting the proper sort of candidates for City Councils, and, if anything, a still greater difficulty in electing them.

As a result of a study of our American experience I would make the following suggestions on this point.

The legislature, or legislative department, should be organized in two separate bodies, which you may call an Upper and Lower Chamber, the Board of Councils and the Board of Aldermen, or the Upper and Lower House of the City Councils. The two-chambered system in city government cannot be defended for the same reasons exactly which are applicable to the case of the State or nation, and if these two chambers are not to be constituted upon different principles there is very little use of having this form of government. But in making up the representative part of city government two principles ought to be applied. In the first place, the ordinary geographical distribution of representatives, characteristic of the national government and of the State governments, has become such a fundamental and important part of the political traditions of the American people, that I do not believe that any form of government, even for municipalities, is likely to be permanent which does not at some place in the scheme provide for such representation. In other words, it seems wise, if for no other reason than the simple fact that it concurs with a political predilection, or, if you please, a political prejudice, that one branch of the City Councils should be made up on the ward principle. There are, moreover, in any large community of modern times a great many local needs and wants which ought to find a voice and expression in the common legislative assembly, and whether they ought to or not, they certainly will, and we had better have a distinctively authorized method of expressing those wants and needs rather than to depend upon their expressing themselves in less legitimate ways.

Furthermore, while every member of Councils should regard himself as a representative of the city as a whole, even if he be elected by a particular ward; yet there seems to be an advantage in organizing in a special manner, at some point in the system, the idea of general representation. This can be done in an efficient way by incorporating in the system of choosing the

members of one of the chambers, the principle of election by general ticket. It would be natural to apply this to the smaller chamber. But in adopting this system it would be necessary to provide in some way against this chamber being chosen in such a manner as to represent simply the ideas of the temporary majority, and also desirable to provide a means whereby it would be possible for an intelligent and patriotic minority to exert their legitimate influence upon the course of city administration without too great an expenditure of effort.

I think that this end can be attained by the application of some form of minority or proportional representation. This subject has, of course, been attracting increasing attention during the last few years, and the enthusiastic advocates of the principle are demanding its application to national, State and municipal affairs. I cannot go into any discussion of the principle here; but I believe whatever may be urged in its favor has a special force when it is confined to the elections of a city, and whatever arguments may be urged against its application are the weakest and fewest when urged against its application to local affairs. There should be a double form of application—namely, the upper chamber should be constituted upon the principle of a general ticket with a cumulative vote, or, if necessary, owing to the convenience of administration, the city should be divided at most into three or four divisions, each electing a third or fourth of the representatives by that system. Secondly, the second house itself, or the lower branch, should also be, to some extent, organized on that principle—namely, each ward should be constituted a three, or better a five, member district, choosing its representatives on the cumulative plan. This would make it possible for a trifle over one-third, or a trifle over one-fifth, of the voters of any ward to secure a representative, and if the upper chamber consisted of twenty or thirty members it would give to the twentieth or the thirtieth of the number of voters in the city an opportunity of returning a member. I believe this would make it possible to reduce the power of the political machine to a considerably lower limit without requiring an absolutely disproportionate effort on the part of citizens who were

opposed to it. I am well aware of the objections that would be urged against this system, and I cannot go further into the discussion of it at present, than to state the opinion that it would be a material strengthening of the influence of good citizens and a weakening of the power for evil of the bad.

One word more as to the organization of the civil service and I am done.

The next most important question, if, indeed, not the most important question, in constructing a frame for city government is the principle of organization of the executive department. I have already indicated my view that there should be a special differentiation between executive and legislative functions, and that, as far as possible, the work of execution and administration should be carried on directly by government departments, responsible to a single head, and subject to no dictation on the part of the legislative branch. The actual division of the executive functions among the various departments in the government, in other words, the number of departments which should be created within the general executive field would vary, of course, with individual cities; but certainly the work ought to be so classified as to make it possible for one department to have the determination of those things which naturally belong together. Thus, if there is a city department of water works and a city department of gas works and of highways, they ought to be organized under one general head, at least, so far as their work involves changes or alterations in the streets. The system which prevails at present in many cities in which the water works department is at liberty to tear up streets at pleasure, as likewise the gas works and the electric light works and the public highway department, each on its own account and irrespective of the others, is, of course, intolerable. These are considerations, however, which are comparatively simple, and offer little difficulty if the principle be once acknowledged.

The question of appointment of officials is a much more complicated and a much more difficult one to judge from the experience which we have had with the subject in this country, as well as from the experience of other nations. It is not neces-

sary to say to such an audience as this that the principles of a sound civil service are fundamental to the solution of the problems of city government. Indeed, it is difficult to see how, unless the proper principles are applied in this department of the city government, any great progress can be obtained in any other. The appointment of city officials and employees from the grade of laborer on the street to that of head of a bureau ought to be under a general system calculated to secure the best service, and the elimination of political considerations from the question of appointment. This is another of those points at which the experience of American cities necessitates a radically different method from that which is in use in many of the European cities. The appointment of laborers, for example, in most European cities can be safely left to the permanent officials who are to select these employees. At least, no great evils have shown themselves under a system which leaves a considerable amount of discretion to subordinate officials. Not so in the United States. Some method or other, as nearly automatic in its work as possible, must be devised and put into operation reaching to every department of the city civil service.

There is fortunately no need here to go into details in regard to the appointment of laborers. The city of Boston has given us a most excellent scheme, which, in the hands of the right persons, works out very satisfactory results. When we come to the appointment of persons above the grade of laborers, and particularly to the appointment of the permanent officials, such as may be classed under the head of clerks, those whose duties are very largely such as can be performed by people of ordinary intelligence and a fair elementary education, a general method of appointment under the civil service laws, which have been adopted in several of the American cities, if applied with fairness and consistency, will give satisfactory results. The appointment of such persons should certainly be for good behavior, and based upon a competitive examination in elementary subjects. The appointment of officials above this grade, heads of bureaus, heads of technical departments, inspectors of health

and food, inspectors of street paving, of the water works and gas works and similar subjects, should be taken exclusively from classes who have had the professional training for such work. Until we are willing to require a proper course of systematic technical training, the appointment should be based upon a competitive examination upon the general subjects about which they need to know in their respective positions. There is no earthly reason, for example, why the employees of our boards of health should not be people who have at least an elementary knowledge of chemistry and medicine. The time is past when the people of the United States are necessarily dependent upon ignorance for service in such positions. Every large city has in the local college or university or even high school, ample facilities for giving the information which every person who applies for such technical positions ought to have, and no one ought to be admitted to an examination for such positions who has not prepared himself by the utilization of the facilities for such instruction as are so commonly afforded.

The supervisory element, or the actual heads of these departments, may be properly enough and safely enough appointed by the mayor, with terms of office contemporaneous with his own. In this way, we shall allow him the appointment of a sufficient number of men to exercise an actual and efficient supervision over the various branches of city administration.

This idea of proper technical preparation for the duties of positions entrusted with technical work in city administration, is at bottom of fundamental importance for good city government. We shall not have either good city, or good State, or good national administration, so long as we do not recognize that for certain positions a technical education is necessary, and do not insist upon the possession of that technical education.

It is desirable that the mayor should have the appointment of the heads of departments, and the power of appointment in this case should be coupled with the absolute and immediate power of dismissal. In no other case, however, should it be permitted. We civil service reformers have made the mistake of supposing

that if the power of appointment is limited and hedged about by adequate restrictions it will be perfectly safe to leave the power of dismissal absolute. Experience shows the contrary to be the case, and we shall never get the necessary restrictions about appointments until there are corresponding restrictions about removals. No official should be allowed to remove a person who has passed the tests of fitness prescribed for admission to a certain position without giving his reason in writing, and without having those reasons passed upon as to their adequacy by somebody else. There are, of course, many reasons why the head of a department may wish to dismiss a person beside political reasons. There must be a spirit of hearty co-operation in a department or the efficiency of the department will be impaired, and it is oftentimes desirable, if an employee has become inefficient from no other reason than because it has become impossible for the other employees or for the head of the department to work with him, that he should at least be removed to another department if not dismissed from the service, and this is, of course, an adequate reason for removal, and would be recognized as such by any board which should be given the authority to approve or disapprove the recommendations of the head of a department in such a case. In other words, the service must be guaranteed against dismissals for inadequate cause, as well as against appointment on any other ground than fitness, in order to secure an efficient service. It was perhaps well for us in our efforts at reform to direct our attention, in the first instance, to the single problem of throwing restrictions around the method of appointment. The time has come when it is tolerably clear that we cannot secure efficiency, and cannot secure a non-partisan service in any other way than by protecting subordinate officials against dismissal for any other than adequate ground based on the needs of the service, as well as protecting the positions once vacated against being filled by political favoritism. These principles, then, our American experience has demonstrated to be necessary to a proper scheme of municipal government in the larger cities of the American Union. The greatest possible de-

gree of autonomy or self-government; the especial differentiation between executive and legislative functions; the vesting of the supreme executive authority in one person, elected by popular vote for not too short a term and independent in his appointments of the legislative department; the acceptance of a permanent, properly-educated civil service under the supervision of heads of departments appointed by the chief executive; and the general constitution of the legislative department upon the principle of geographical distribution and minority representation; these features are feasible and are attainable under present American conditions, and will give us the basis of further development.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various offices of the city.

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LIST OF DELEGATES AT MINNEAPOLIS
CONFERENCE.

BALLOT REFORM LEAGUE, NEW ORLEANS.

Prof. John R. Ficklen.

CHICAGO CIVIC FEDERATION.

Wm. A. Giles, Prof. E. W. Bemis.

CHICAGO REAL ESTATE BOARD.

Marvin A. Farr, Wm. A. Giles.

CITIZENS' AND TAXPAYERS' COMMITTEE, SIOUX CITY, IOWA.

David Mould, Rev. Dr. Marc M. Darling.

CITIZENS' UNION OF KINGS COUNTY.

Wm. G. Low.

CIVIC FEDERATION OF GALESBURG, ILLINOIS.

S. F. Lawrence, Godfrey Haas.

CLEVELAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

L. E. Holden.

DULUTH BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS.

James Farrell, Andrew Swordling, Mayor Ray T. Lewis.

DULUTH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

E. C. Gridley.

LAW ENFORCEMENT LEAGUE OF MINNEAPOLIS.

W. X. Sudduth, C. E. Dyer, W. J. Dean, Wm. M. Lawrence, George B. Young, James Goldsberry, C. W. Purple, Edward Savage.

MUNICIPAL CLUB, DECATUR, ILL.

W. J. Wayne, H. P. Page.

MUNICIPAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, KANSAS CITY, MO.

C. J. Hubbard, J. S. Ford.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF MILWAUKEE.

John A. Butler, F. C. Winkler, E. K. West, F. W. von Cotzhausen, Robert Hill, Charles W. Norris.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Charles Richardson, George Burnham, Jr., Dr. E. J. James, Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF ST. PAUL.

C. W. Hackett, W. B. Millard, J. H. Davidson, S. G. Smith, George Griggs, F. B. Cowgill, Philip Gilbert, D. Morgan, G. S. Innes, R. K. Evans.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

William Potts.

NINTH WARD MUNICIPAL CLUB, MINNEAPOLIS.

Luther Sage, Jr., Prof. J. G. Newkirk, E. F. Rea, George W. Bayliss, J. B. Rutherford.

ST. PAUL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

W. H. Lightner, Wm. B. Dean, John B. Sanborn, W. P. Murray, T. D. Merwin.

SECOND WARD MUNICIPAL CLUB, MINNEAPOLIS.

H. A. Sriver, George H. Benton, Charles M. Way, Frank M. Stacey, Charles Murray.

WOMAN'S IMPROVEMENT LEAGUE OF MINNEAPOLIS.

Prof. Maria Sanford, Mrs. Emanuel Cohen, Mrs. David F. Simpson, Mrs. Robert Pratt.

ZENITH PRESS CLUB, DULUTH, MINN.

Mrs. S. A. Bangs.

MINUTES
FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
National Municipal League

PROCEEDINGS CLEVELAND CONFERENCE FOR
GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

MINUTES
OF THE
First Annual Meeting of the Board of Delegates
OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
HELD IN
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Wednesday, May 29, 1895, 3 P. M.

The session was called to order in the Assembly-room of the Chamber of Commerce, by the Chairman of the Local Committee, Mr. L. E. Holden, editor *The Plaindealer*, who introduced Mr. J. G. W. Cowles, First Vice-president of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. In welcoming the League to Cleveland Mr. Cowles said: It so happens that to-day the Mayor of the city and the President of the Chamber of Commerce are out of the city in attendance upon a State Convention, where they have been trying to nominate a citizen of Cleveland for the office of Governor of the State of Ohio, and have failed to do it. I regret for their sakes, and for yours, that they are not here to welcome you. It is for this reason that the pleasant duty devolves upon me.

In the name of our citizens of Cleveland I welcome you to our city. I am glad that your coming occurs in these last days of May. I think the month of June is here the most favored of the year; and you come as near as possible to sharing our brightest and most delightful days.

Cleveland has always been a modest city. Within the last twenty years we have thought of it as, and called it, an overgrown New England village. It started from that germ, and kept the characteristics of the New England village for more than three-quarters of a century. But Euclid Avenue is not now our only fame, and the trees everywhere, which made Cleveland the "Forest City," are fast receding before the solid improvements and the smoke-polluted atmosphere of the growing metropolis of Northern Ohio. I think the last federal census not only published to the world our rank and promise, but awakened in our citizens a new civic

pride and patriotism, and a new ambition to make our city not only a "greater," but a better Cleveland in the years to come.

Cleveland is a city of homes and work-shops. With a large lake commerce, especially in coal and iron, our mercantile trade is less extensive than that of many other cities of equal population. But our manufacturing industries are varied and large. I do not know of any city of its size where more families live in houses owned by them. We know little of city slums; no district is packed with crowded tenements, and few such buildings are to be found in separate localities. The ample spaces everywhere are a great advantage to the public health, and favor a purer and freer life and better conditions of civic order and regulation than in more densely-settled communities. Many problems of municipal reform are thus absent or reduced to a minimum.

Those which confront us and press upon us are chiefly along the lines of organization and administration. Recently decided progress has been made in this direction by the adoption of the "federal plan," which makes the mayor the responsible head of the city government, with a cabinet of directors, the executive heads of departments, and the legislative power in the Common Council.

But no plan is perfect or will work itself. The radical reform required here and everywhere is in the working forces of city government; men in places of trust and power who are intelligent and wise, honest and unselfish, and who serve the public for the public good. How to find such men, how to choose them, how to command them for the services of the city; this is the problem. Not by the ordinary methods of party politics, nor through political parties in any way, and not upon the theory that to the victors belong the spoils. Of so much, negatively, I am sure we are all convinced. But how to find, choose and command such men—perhaps you can discover and tell us in this Conference. If so, your coming here will confer a lasting benefit, for which we may not only bid you thrice welcome, but God speed, in the noble undertaking of this National Municipal League—the promotion of good citizenship and good city government in all the cities of our land.

Mr. Cowles then introduced Corporation Counsel M. G. Norton, who read the following letter from the Mayor of Cleveland, the Honorable R. E. McKisson:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Municipal League:—It is a sincere pleasure to be called upon on behalf of the people of Cleveland to extend to you a cordial welcome to our city. It is appropriate that you should meet within our gates, not because we are more in need of reform than other cities, but for the opportunity it affords you to observe the operations of the most compact, most systematic and best municipal char-

ter in Ohio. There are some details of the so-called federal plan, perhaps, which could be improved upon, but the fact is demonstrated that it has given a unity and strength to Cleveland's municipal government that it never had before. I cordially invite you to inspect its operations and inquire into its results.

In extending to you a formal welcome to Cleveland, I have no wish to impose upon the gentlemen of intelligence and high character assembled here any suggestions of my own. I am aware many of you have given more years than I to the observation and study of the grave and complex problems of city government. I wish to assure you, however, of my deep sympathy with your work, and to express the earnest hope that abundant success may crown your efforts to improve municipal government in both system and practice.

There is one thought I would leave with you. Many of the grave defects in our municipal affairs are due, it seems to me, to a peculiar condition of the public conscience. The stewardship of public office ought to be as sacredly held as the trusteeship of an estate or the guardianship of minor children. Yet a large proportion of the people seem to feel that public money belongs to the people, and that it is a scramble as to who shall get the most of it. "You need not care!" they tell the conscientious official, "the people pay the bills; what concern of yours is it how this money is spent? You get your salary just the same, and somebody else will get this money if we do not."

I venture the opinion that every custodian of public funds has been approached in this manner times innumerable. It is an appeal to the carelessness, the selfishness, the good nature of the officials. It is a request to be free with funds which he disburses in trust. That the argument should be common argues a defect in the public conscience, which I believe is more responsible for the extravagances of city government than any other fact. Before your organization can hope for the highest success, it must educate the public mind and conscience in this respect. A popular government cannot rise higher than its source. It is usually a fair reflex of the public opinion which created it, and in a measure guides it. Therefore, while you labor to improve municipal systems, and reform the reprehensible methods now in vogue to a greater or less extent in every American city, you must also aim to elevate the popular conscience, and insist upon the people not only merely holding their stewards to a just accountability, but holding themselves answerable also, in a large degree, for the faults they criticize.

I am glad to welcome your organization to Cleveland. I believe you are doing a public service in the agitation you are conducting. I hope your deliberations may be crowned with success, and I shall be happy to co-operate with you as much as lies in my power. Again extending to you the courtesies of the city, I thank you for the privilege of meeting you and of saying this cordial word of welcome to you.

R. E. MCKISSON.

JAMES C. CARTER, ESQ., of New York, President of the National Municipal League: *Members of the Civic Federation and of the Chamber of Commerce*:—I desire to express on behalf of the League, and on behalf of the Conference for Good City Government, our most profound thanks and

grateful acknowledgment to you and to the Mayor of your city for the very kind welcome and the very generous hospitality which has been tendered us. We have long been familiar, as all Americans are, with the city of Cleveland, with its marvelous growth, its present prosperity and the great commerce that is opening to its portals. I was glad to observe, Mr. Cowles, how much you seem to be impressed with the necessity of good and sound municipal government, and especially glad to see the emphasis which you laid upon the necessity of having the right men in the actual administration of public offices. As you have rightly observed, forms of government and modes of administration, although important in themselves, are still comparatively unimportant when compared with the necessity of having in official places the best abilities, tried integrity and perfect fidelity. I hope, and have no doubt, that while the League remains in the city of Cleveland it will have opportunities to enjoy the many agreeable things which I see it furnishes. I again thank you, gentlemen, for the hospitality and the kind welcome which you have extended to us.

The first annual meeting of the Board of Delegates of the National Municipal League is now in session, and the first order of business is the report of the Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., of Philadelphia, on "The Progress of Municipal Reform, 1894-1895."

Mr. Woodruff then read his report on "The Progress of Municipal Reform, 1894-1895." (See *Appendix*.)

THE PRESIDENT: I am sure we have all been encouraged by the clear and concise account of the progress as outlined by our Secretary; and we all are indebted to him for the devotion he has shown to the cause and his unremitting efforts during the past year in behalf of better city government.

It is desirable at this time to ascertain which of our affiliated associations are represented by delegates; also what other organizations are here represented. For that purpose the Secretary will call the roll and receive credentials.

The Secretary thereupon called the roll, and reported to the Board which of the affiliated associations were represented. (A list of the delegates to the Board and to the Conference from affiliated and other bodies will be found in the *Appendix*.)

HON. ALBION W. TOURGEE: I represent the National Citizens' League. It is a voluntary organization for the study and practice of good citizenship. I am instructed to come before you and receive your judgment as to whether we deserve a place in this honorable body.

THE PRESIDENT: You have heard the application of Judge Tourgee on behalf of the National Citizens' League for representation in this body. That League has not taken the requisite step for affiliation with the League,

and he, consequently, of course, is not regularly a delegate. I presume there would be no objection in allowing the gentleman the privilege of participating in the discussions. Unless such objection is now made it will be deemed that the privileges of the League are thus extended to Judge Tourgee as representative of that body, so far as participating in debates is concerned. (The assent of the delegates present was signified by applause).

THE PRESIDENT: The Treasurer's annual report will now be read by the Treasurer, Mr. George Burnham, Jr., of Philadelphia.

Mr. Burnham then presented the following report:

GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., TREASURER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

RECEIPTS.

From R. Fulton Cutting, former Treasurer	\$404 78
" L. D. Brandeis' contribution	150 00
" membership dues	110 00
" Selheimer Printing Company, refund	5 00
" sales of pamphlets and books	7 00
Total	\$676 78

EXPENDITURES.

Printing, postage and office expenses	495 69
Balance on hand	\$181 09

THE SECRETARY: A year ago when the National Municipal League was organized the movement was largely confined to the Eastern States, and the officers, therefore, were largely drawn from that section. The Nominating Committee has prepared a report, in which it is proposed, I am informed, to renominate the present officers. It has been thought advisable that the Western and Southern cities should be represented on the Board; and I now give notice that after the election of officers I will offer an amendment to the Constitution providing for an increased number of Vice-presidents and a larger Executive Committee.

Mr. Frederick W. Schultz, of Baltimore, read the report of the Nominating Committee, which is as follows:

TO THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE:

Gentlemen:—Your Committee on Nominations beg leave respectfully to present the following nominations:

OFFICERS.

For President, James C. Carter, New York;
 For First Vice-president, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia;
 For Second Vice-president, Samuel B. Capen, Boston;
 For Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia;
 For Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

FOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore ;
 Matthew Hale, Albany ;
 Joseph A. Miller, Providence ;
 William G. Low, Brooklyn ;
 Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia ;
 Louis D. Brandeis, Boston ;
 Dudley Tibbits, Troy.

(Signed) FREDERICK W. SCHULTZ,
 GEO. MCANENY,
 GEORGE GLUYAS MERCER,
 Chairman.

On motion of Mr. L. E. Holden, the Secretary was authorized to cast a ballot for the officers and Executive Committee as nominated, on behalf of the delegates present. The Secretary cast a ballot as instructed, and the President announced the election of the following officers and Executive Committee :

President, James C. Carter, New York ;
 First Vice-president, Charles Richardson, Philadelphia ;
 Second Vice-president, Samuel B. Capen, Boston ;
 Secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia ;
 Treasurer, George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore ;
 Matthew Hale, Albany ;
 Joseph A. Miller, Providence ;
 William G. Low, Brooklyn ;
 Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia ;
 Louis D. Brandeis, Boston ;
 Dudley Tibbits, Troy.

THE SECRETARY: In accordance with the notice given before the reading of the report of the Nominating Committee, I now move the adoption of the following amendments to the constitution :

Resolved, That Article II, Section 1, of the By-Laws of the Board of Delegates be amended so as to read : " At each stated or annual meeting the Board shall elect by ballot a President, five Vice-presidents, and shall also elect or authorize the Executive Committee to appoint a Secretary and Treasurer and such other officers as the Board may deem proper ; all officers shall hold their positions until their successors are elected or appointed and duly qualified."

Resolved, That Article III, Section 1, be amended so as to read : " At each stated or annual meeting the Board shall elect nine delegates as an Executive Committee for the ensuing year."

Resolved, That Article III, Section 4, be amended so as to read : " The

Executive Committee shall meet for organization immediately after the meeting of the Board at which it is elected, and shall then determine upon the time and place for its future meeting. Special meetings may, however, be called at any time by its Chairman or by any three members. Five members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum at any meeting regularly called. Members represented by proxy shall not be counted as forming a quorum."

Mr. Burnham seconded the amendments.

Each amendment was voted upon separately. The first and second amendments were carried unanimously.

CHARLES J. BONAPARTE, Esq., Baltimore: I would suggest that the quorum be not increased beyond the number now required. The number now required is four, and it has been by no means easy to obtain a quorum among gentlemen who have many cares, and who necessarily reside at considerable distances from any central place of meeting. These additions to the membership of the Board will probably come from organizations located still farther away from any place where it will be easy to hold a meeting. I would suggest to the mover of this resolution that he alter the number of five to four.

THE SECRETARY: I will accept the amendment of Mr. Bonaparte if my second has no objection.

There being no objection from Mr. Burnham, the motion of Mr. Woodruff as amended by Mr. Bonaparte was carried.

THE SECRETARY: I move that a Nominating Committee of Three be appointed to nominate three additional Vice-presidents and two additional members of the Executive Committee. (Carried).

THE PRESIDENT: I will appoint as such committee Messrs. F. W. Schultz, of Baltimore; Walker B. Spencer, of New Orleans; Isaac Adler, of Rochester.

This Committee subsequently reported the following nominations:

For Third Vice-president, Mr. T. N. Strong, Portland, Oregon;

For Fourth Vice-president, Mr. L. E. Holden, Cleveland, Ohio;

For Fifth Vice-president, Dr. H. Dixon Bruns, New Orleans.

For additional members of the Executive Committee:

Mr. A. L. Crocker, Minneapolis;

Mr. Frank N. Hartwell, Louisville.

The above report was adopted, and the Secretary authorized to cast a ballot for the nominees. He cast a ballot as instructed, and the President declared the nominees duly elected.

THE PRESIDENT: The remainder of the session will be devoted to brief reports from cities which have been heard from at greater length at previous Conferences, and from which we desire to know more, especially

as to what has transpired between the time of the last report and the present. I will call first upon Mr. James W. Pryor, Secretary of the New York City Club, to speak for New York.

MR. PRYOR: The first election in which the strength of non-partisanship in city affairs was fairly tested in New York was the election for assemblyman in the twenty-first assembly district in November, 1893. Both Democrats and Republicans put forward thoroughly bad candidates. One week before election Good Government Club A nominated Mr. John Brooks Leavitt upon a non-partisan platform. The politicians predicted that he would receive about three hundred votes. The Republican candidate polled twenty-two hundred votes; the Democrat, twenty-three hundred; and Leavitt, twenty-one hundred. Many men who would have voted for Leavitt if they had supposed that there was any possibility that he would be elected were deterred by the fear of "throwing away their votes." From that moment respect for the political force of the non-partisan idea has been growing in the minds of party managers in our city; and if I read present indications aright, that respect will be increased not a little before our next election in November of this year.

The most conspicuous events in the political history of New York City in the past year were the disclosures of the gross corruption in the police department, made by the Senate Investigating Committee, and the action taken by the people, through the Committee of 70, to overthrow the political machine responsible for the terrible condition of the city government disclosed in that investigation.

In June, before the Committee of 70 was talked of, the Good Government Clubs, then some fifteen in number, held a convention of delegates, representing the various Clubs. This convention adopted a platform and appointed an executive committee. The committee opened communication with the leaders of the political organizations opposed to Tammany Hall, with a view to securing all possible support for a strictly non-partisan municipal ticket. These negotiations had assumed a promising form when the Committee of 70 came into existence in September. At a conference of the executive committee of the Good Government Club Convention, with representatives of the German-American Reform Union and of the political organizations, resolutions in favor of a non-partisan union were passed unanimously, although some of the politicians present did not relish this outcome. They were practically forced to participate in this action by the turn given to the conference by the reformers, who succeeded in placing the organizations in a position in which they were compelled either to support such resolutions or declare in effect against such a union as was proposed. The politicians evidently realized that the non-partisan idea had

gained such currency that not to seem to adopt it at that juncture would have been bad politics. The evidence of this realization was the most encouraging thing that had come to pass in the efforts of the New York municipal reformers. In 1891 it would have been most difficult to rally a respectable number of citizens to the support of that idea, and quite impossible to secure recognition for it from the political organizations.

When the Committee of 70 came into existence, therefore, it found the field much better prepared than ever before for such a campaign as that Committee undertook.

The chief purpose of the Committee of 70 was to overthrow Tammany Hall, and that purpose was triumphantly accomplished. Incidentally, the Committee sought to advance the cause of good municipal government by waging its fight upon non-partisan lines. It is no disparagement of the Committee to say that in adhering to its main purpose it was compelled to sacrifice to some extent its secondary purpose. The educational effect of its campaign was great; the immediate result of its efforts was to give us a greatly improved municipal administration; but an administration which must partake of the nature of its ingredients. Its candidates were elected, not by the elimination of national party from municipal affairs, but by reconciling the parties and by placing them in a position in which their leaders, as politicians, feel that they can make "claims" upon the mayor and the heads of departments.

The most notable services rendered by Mayor Strong thus far are probably the extension of the civil service rules to many places not heretofore covered by the rules, and the appointment of police commissioners who promise to give us an admirable illustration of the ability of good officers to work out good government in spite of vicious laws.

It is too early to pass final judgment upon the administration of Mayor Strong from the point of view of the municipal reformers. He has done much to win their applause. They have suffered their greatest disappointments in his approval of a bi-partisan police bill, which seems to them to violate the fundamental principles to which he is committed, and in a distinct tendency which they think they detect in his appointments to recognize political organizations and to reward campaign work.

The recent experience of New York City in the matter of legislation is interesting, and, with proper study, could be made instructive. Shortly after the legislature met in January a situation developed which presented a practical denial of popular government to the people of New York City. Two great mass meetings, held in that temple of civic liberty, Cooper Union, gave voice to the best sentiment of the community, and to the demand for legislative relief as the logical outcome of the Lexow disclosures

and the November election. In an address to the people of the State, adopted at the second of these meetings, on the 27th of March, the following language was used :

" We, the citizens of the city of New York, in mass meeting assembled, appeal to the people of the State to help us in preserving our civic rights, and in enforcing our just demands.

" In November last the people of New York City declared at the polls, by an overwhelming majority, that the corrupt rule of Tammany Hall should cease, and that the administration of the city government should be reformed.

" Among the reforms demanded by the citizens who elected Mayor Strong are :

" The vesting of power of removal in the mayor.

" The re-organization of the police department.

" The reform of our police courts.

" The reform of the public schools.

" Certain legislation necessary to perfect the reforms thus demanded was prepared by those who led the people to victory in that election, and has been introduced in the legislature. The bills have been approved and advocated by all the reform organizations of our city, by the public press and by the people in mass meeting. The will of the people has been made known to the members of the legislature by every available means. In the name of popular government, we have called for the passage of laws designed to release this community from intolerable evils. Some of our representatives in the legislature have echoed our demands ; and, faithful to their constituents, have pledged themselves to support these bills. But members from other parts of the State have banded together to prevent effective action by the legislature, and our appeals to them have been in vain. The principle of local self-government, adopted by both the Republican and the Democratic party, has been set at naught.

* * * * *

" WE DEMAND :—

" 1. Honest and capable police justices, to the end that the poor and unfortunate in our community may no longer be compelled to suffer in their liberties and their property from the administration of the criminal law by dishonest and incapable men.

" 2. Honest and intelligent administration of our public schools, to the end that our children may have adequate opportunity for such instruction as will best fit them to meet the responsibilities of citizenship.

" 3. Honest, efficient and responsible administration of our police de-

partment, to the end that oppression, extortion and bribery may cease, and the laws be enforced without fear or favor.

"We have a right to these reforms. They concern us alone. With your help we can secure them.

"Speak to your Senators and Assemblymen in terms that they cannot misunderstand. Tell them that this is not a time for the game of politics; that popular government is on trial; that every member of the legislature who fails to promote the great reforms demanded by this city is an enemy of popular government, and will be so regarded by his constituents.

"The contest is not merely a contest between the people of this city and the legislature. Sinister political forces are arrayed against the fundamental principles of our government. A victory for those forces will leave every city, every town, every village in the State at the mercy of an irresponsible legislature.

"If the representatives of the people can disregard the will of the people of one part of the State they can disregard the will of the people of any other part. If the present demands of this city are to be unheeded no single community in the State may hope to secure vital reforms at the hands of the legislature. Should our reform bills not be passed a dangerous precedent would be established; and popular government, so far as our towns and cities are compelled to seek it through the legislature, would be imperiled."

The upshot of all the agitation was that the bill to give the Mayor power of removal of heads of city departments and the bill to reform the organization of the police courts became law. As a remedy for the horrible evils in the police department we have the bi-partisan bill prepared by Mr. Lexow, vicious in principle and ridiculous in detail.

No small amount of money and untold amounts of energy and self-sacrifice were devoted to the effort to wring from a reluctant legislature the measures of relief demanded of the city.

The lesson to be learned seems to be one learned years ago by some of the men who are still working for municipal reform in New York—that such expenditure of time, money, energy and civic devotion as we have witnessed of late in New York is not applied scientifically in the effort to secure this or that piece of legislation affecting some detail of the city government and not forming part of any coherent comprehensive plan.

The second lesson to be learned is the old one that we cannot have such free, popular government as our fathers meant to found without responsible representation in the legislative branch of the government. The legislative branch of the New York City government is practically the State legislature, sitting in Albany; but of the members of that body, not one-

quarter are responsible to the people of the city. The fight for local self-government must go on.

Some of the reforms that have been long sought by municipal reformers in New York State were reduced to the form of constitutional amendments last summer by a committee of twenty-one representatives of various organizations in the cities of the State. This committee was appointed at a conference held in the house of The City Club, of New York. The subjects embraced in these amendments were:

1. Local self-government for cities.
2. Civil service.
3. Separation of local elections from State and national elections by one year.
4. City franchises.

As adopted by the constitutional convention and ratified by the people of the State, the amendments provide for (1) separation of elections, except that State Assemblymen are elected every year; (2) extension of the merit system in the civil service; (3) classification of cities and opportunity for local authorities to approve or disapprove local legislation before it becomes law.

Upon the whole it may be said, therefore, that in the city and the State of New York the past year has witnessed a great and permanent advance in the cause of good municipal government. But the fight is not yet won. The principles which are familiar to the members of this League are little known and little heeded outside of the large cities of the State. A long and probably often a discouraging fight is yet to be fought before we approach very nearly the ideal, to pay homage to which this Convention is assembled.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. George Burnham, Jr., the President of the Philadelphia Municipal League, will speak for Philadelphia.

MR. BURNHAM: When your Secretary, who was just re-elected, asked me if I would speak upon Philadelphia, I told him I would give a very brief description. When I first came here I was introduced to a delegate from the Southwest, who said to me: "I am a member of one of the younger bodies." I said to him: "We are all pretty young." The Municipal League of Philadelphia is not quite two years old, but it has passed a critical period, its second summer.

The reform movement in Philadelphia has passed through a normal evolution. We first constituted a Committee of 100; and while a great deal was accomplished during the early period of its existence, yet the fact was developed that no self-constituted committee could hope for permanent success. The American people favor the representative idea, and a self-

constituted committee loses their confidence. The great strength of the regular parties, or a large portion of their strength, lies in the fact that they nominally represent the people. We all have a feeling that if we went to the primaries we could change things, and that it is largely our fault that we are confronted by present conditions.

When the Municipal League was organized it was organized with the recognition of the principle that to further the work we must really be representative. Our officers are therefore elected by their constituencies in the different wards. We are governed by a Board of Managers, the members of which are chosen partly at large and partly as delegates from ward associations. We have grown in three years to the number of thirty-five hundred. There are thirty-four wards in our municipality, and in a large number of these wards we have ward organizations, and our ward organizations are growing in power and influence. We have in some cases elected members of the council; and we have been able, to some extent, to influence legislation.

THE PRESIDENT: I scarcely need introduce to any body of reformers, much less to this meeting of the National Municipal League, the Chairman of our Executive Committee, Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore, who will report for that city.

MR. BONAPARTE: When I was asked to report at this meeting the corrections which might be needful after a year's experience in the picture which I drew one year ago of the condition of my native city, I was told it was to be a "carefully prepared, extemporaneous report." I see from the experience of one who has gone before me—by which experience I might have profited if only I had known what it was going to be and how the report was "carefully prepared, as well as extemporaneous"—that it should have been a written report. I offer my apology, Mr. President, for the fact that I was not notified as to the sleight of hand in the use of language on part of the officers of the body, the usage of which the body itself approves since it has just re-elected those guilty of it.

The subject of my report admits of but a very brief statement. Everything I reported as existing in Baltimore a year ago when I read a paper which was as carefully prepared as my limited abilities, and still more limited leisure, permitted—everything as stated was there then, and still is there now. We still have a "boss," who is vigorous and healthy, and shows no signs of abdication, so far as I am aware. He has still the same resources, and, I think, the same intentions which he had a year ago. It is true, that we have given him a little tilt, perhaps, in the last election held there, but if it goes no further he can stand a good deal of that. At that election there was

nominated, against his voice, I believe, by the promising, rising bosses, those between whom there will one day be an animated contest for his place, and who, in the meantime, exhibit the qualities which will adorn their elevation when it comes, a gentleman who had been four times successively elected to the position of State's attorney, for the reason that he possessed almost every quality which could be desired in that position by the persons whose prosecution he had to conduct. This gentleman having been nominated for the judgeship—a position which he was perhaps still better suited to adorn than that which he had so long and so worthily occupied—the Executive Committee of the Baltimore Reform League, after considerable hesitation, and waiting vainly for somebody else to do the work for them, determined, for the second time in the history of that organization, to oppose his nomination at the polls. Their first experience in that work was in the case of Mr. Morris A. Thomas, a gentleman, no doubt, better known to me and my fellow-citizens than most of those here, but who has still some claim to a national reputation. As even great men are, in our rapidly moving age, soon forgotten, it may be, perhaps, not out of place for me to say that Mr. Thomas was, early in the first term of President Cleveland, nominated as an inspector of Indian agencies, his chief recommendation for that position being that, in addition to having been at one time the subject of an abortive prosecution for ballot stuffing, he had twice failed in business, the first time with assets amounting to forty-seven dollars and liabilities amounting to some \$60,000; and the second time under circumstances similar; and he was at that time, and remains, I believe, to-day an unreleased bankrupt. That gentleman having been nominated for that position, his appointment was resisted; first, before a Democratic President, afterwards before a Republican Senate by the Reform League, both cases without the slightest effect upon the nominating or confirming power, so far as could be judged. They apparently considered Mr. Thomas admirably qualified for the position for which he had been chosen, and that his antecedents only established his qualifications. But when, encouraged by the result of these successive "vindications," he ran in 1888 for an office of no great dignity, but one of considerable importance to those who had business with it—a clerkship of a Chancery Court—he was badly defeated through the efforts of the Reform League.

The same experience befell the gentleman who received the nomination for the judgeship at the last election. He was defeated, and a Republican elected to the bench in Baltimore for the first time in thirteen years.

Undoubtedly this has been a lesson to the bosses. It has enabled the supreme boss to say to his over-confident young lieutenants, "I told you so;" and it has had, or will have, certain effects in connection with the ad-

ministration of justice which will be at least appreciable. But no one who lives in Baltimore, and who has had much experience in its politics, thinks that any such incident as that will put an end to the existing system.

At the same election at which this gentleman was defeated, the Republicans, for the first time in thirty years, carried the city; that is to say, the aggregate votes on different local candidates footed up, gave them a majority of some twenty-five hundred. This resulted in their securing control of one branch of the City Council, and as a result of this fact we had a Lexow Committee of the bi-partisan order, each branch of the City Council appointing an equal number of its members. For some time after their appointment this committee seemed destined to elucidate that law of mechanics which says that rest is the consequence of equal forces drawing in opposite directions. They spent an immense amount of time and an appreciable amount of money, and drew severely on the stock of patience of those over-sanguine citizens who thought something would come from their appointment, in wrangling and posing for political effect. Finally, however, they got started upon one branch of our city government, the ground having been very carefully prepared for them by the investigations of a committee of our Reform League, which, at its own cost, had found out several things which this joint committee had succeeded in not finding out at considerable expense to the city, and under this scrutiny they brought to light, or had brought to light for them, a state of affairs so grotesquely scandalous that no one, even among the most faithful supporters of the bosses, was able to defend it. This state of affairs related to the management of our City Commissioners' office. That office, which has had the expenditure of very large sums of money in the construction of sewers and other public works, has been administered by a gentleman whose fitness for it was almost as conspicuous as that of the State's Attorney to which I have already referred. In consequence of the developments of this investigation, it was decided that a reform in that department of the city government was indispensable, and various suggestions were made as to what reforms were desirable. The Reform League itself prepared an ordinance which was entirely unacceptable to all classes of politicians connected with the city government, but which the mayor, after ascertaining that it was unacceptable, and possibly that it had no chance of passing the City Council, sent to that body with a message strongly recommending its passage. The City Council adopted, on the unanimous recommendation of the bi-partisan committee, a scheme of reform of their own, which was simply to increase the salaries of the officers who were responsible for the waste and mismanagement and corruption that had been brought to light, leaving the organi-

zation of the department and its personnel precisely, for all practical purposes, the same as it was before.

It afterwards came to light that there was another feature in this scheme of reform which had not been fully stated in the report of the committee recommending it, and that was that the chairman of the said joint committee was to be selected for an office, the emoluments of which were increased. This was prevented, because it was an office created by ordinance during his term in the City Council. When I left home they had not yet selected the person who should fill the place which they had thus created. The first nominee of the mayor was a man fairly qualified for the position, and was promptly rejected by the combined votes of the Democratic and Republican councilmen, and I have not yet heard who has been chosen.

I wish to point out one moral to be drawn from our recent experiences, and that is, that absolutely nothing is gained if you turn out one bad man, who has chalked on his back: "I am a Republican" or "I am a Democrat," and put in another man of the same characteristics with the label reversed.

A story is told of old Marshal Blücher, that when General Beaumont, who deserted a few days before the battle of Waterloo, was presented to him, the old marshal, who was a man of very violent prejudices, but a thorough soldier, received the deserter with such undisguised contempt that it embarrassed his more diplomatic staff. One of his staff officers, thinking that it would make him feel a little better towards Beaumont, pointed out to him that the latter wore upon his hat an enormous legitimist cockade. "Oh, that doesn't matter," said the marshal, "a rascal is a rascal, however you ticket him!" And so, whether the "ticket" be Republican or Democratic, the same stands true to-day.

THE PRESIDENT: Milwaukee will be the last city to be considered at this session, and Mr. John A. Butler, President of the Milwaukee Municipal League, will respond for it.

MR. BUTLER: The work of the Milwaukee League during the past year has been prosecuted upon a definite and consistent plan, made possible by a long period of agitation spent in issuing pamphlets and holding public meetings, which were, of course, ridiculed and discouraged by those who feared they would result in creating a vigorous non-partisan public sentiment, and by those who wished to control and limit the extent of reform itself.

The period of education, such as it was, had already been sufficient a year ago to build up an extensive reform constituency, and that, together with the recent conduct of the spoilsmen in the government of the city and

state, has seriously weakened the bonds of party obligation in city affairs and proportionately increased the force of any appeal in behalf of practical measures of reform, which the League may lay before the people in the future.

We had every reason to feel at the beginning of the year that the good will of the majority was with us, but it was, and still is, a sympathetic approval of our purpose rather than an active appreciation of the practical bearing of our legislative measures upon existing evils. I am, therefore, much pleased with an opportunity to call attention to the effect which they must eventually have, singly and together, upon local municipal problems, both as a check upon vicious administration, as a guarantee of actual connection between the will of the people and the executive processes of our government, and particularly as a check upon the extravagant and sometimes corrupt expenditure of money which makes the contributions of taxpayers many times what they should be, and restricts the investment of capital within unnecessary limits.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say that the very first documents of the League emphasized the importance of the application of the civil service reform principle to all appointive municipal offices, and the history of the successful advocacy of our civil service bill, together with the opposition which it met, is really the history of the work of reform in Milwaukee during the past year.

At the time of the last city election, a year ago this spring, an effort was made to turn the influence of the new city officials in favor of what may be called civil service extension, inasmuch as the fire and police departments have long been under civil service rules. Large meetings were held and action was restricted for the time being to the civil service project. Respectful resolutions were offered at the preliminary ward meetings at the instance of the League, instructing delegates to the city conventions to insert a civil service plank in their respective platforms. The people at those meetings took the matter up with the utmost enthusiasm, but the agents of machine in both parties told them in this land of so-called popular government that delegates must not be instructed by any resolutions whatsoever; an order had gone forth from headquarters to that effect. It was, however, impossible to check the demonstration, and the resolutions were passed in various wards in a modified form.

To make a long story short, we caused the same resolution to be presented in the several conventions. In one of these conventions a dozen or more excited partisans met it with expressions of indignant protest, but owing to the timely and vigorous presentation of the resolutions, the popular enthusiasm aroused by the League and the discretion of certain in-

fluent and high-minded politicians, the plank was finally inserted in all the platforms, and great emphasis placed on the propriety and desirability of non-partisan methods in city government. This was particularly true in the Republican and the People's party, and the Democratic party naturally did not permit itself to be outdone in a bid for votes. This was our first victory.

Meantime the League secured the signatures of many candidates (some of whom were elected) to a special pledge to actively advocate and further the extension of the civil service system to various city departments, and to conduct the government on a strictly non-partisan and business basis.

The members of the present city government were, therefore, in many cases doubly pledged. Many of them are also men of excellent reputation as business men, and the government has been unusually free from financial corruption. Under these apparently favorable auspices a civil service resolution was sent by us to the new Common Council for consideration, but, though the representatives of the League were received with the utmost courtesy, their resolution, together with a similar resolution, presented by a member of the Council, who was also a member of the League, was referred to a committee, where it never met with any favor, except on the part of individuals, and then from a purely party point of view.

This is a temperate presentation of the facts, which is its own commentary, and it is presented to show what degree of effrontery and misrepresentation can exist among otherwise excellent men in opposing a great public measure when drunk with the wine of partisan politics and infatuated with the doubtful glories of machine tyranny.

The active work of the League was resumed in another field in view of the coming session of the State legislature. Early in the year a special plan of work had been laid before the executive committee by its chairman. We had been repeatedly told that our influence should be felt at the primaries, but we had already learned that work of that kind is useless as long as good men refuse nominations. Moreover, getting one set of men out and another in is not necessarily reform. On the contrary, when done by an independent party it is a temporary interference with the process of government, the necessity for which indicates a fundamental defect, the removal of which every effort should be directed. From our point of view, the first step toward real and permanent reform is to establish conditions that will make service in the city government tolerable and even attractive to the right men, and to do this it is necessary to make it unprofitable and undesirable in the eyes of the wrong man in any and all parties, and to throw such checks and balances about the machinery of govern-

ment that all who are concerned in it are removed from serious temptation on every side.

The plan of work suggested and adopted centres on these points, and is largely of a legislative character. It consists of projects familiar to all friends of municipal reform. First, the civil service system; second, a self-enforcing corrupt practices act; third, a double chamber Council, elected in alternate sections for long terms, with the upper chamber elected at large, and fourth, a measure concentrating and fixing exclusive responsibility in the mayor as a definite instrument of the people's will where it can be readily reached and thoroughly controlled, thus cutting off the middle men, so to speak, of the Common Council as an executive body, among whom ascertainable responsibility is beside the question, and who, as a dominant element, frequently come seriously between the people and the objects of good government as a perverse and deterrent force.

In December last circular letters, asking the opinions of the leading professional and business men of Wisconsin on these measures, were sent out and brought responses of the most interesting character from forty-two cities of the State. They came from men of position and ability, from the lieutenant-governor and ex-chief justice down, and naturally excited a great deal of attention.

Subsequently, a petition to the legislature to pass the measures was sent to all parts of the State, and signed with an interest and readiness unusual in the history of documents of that kind. Delegations were sent to argue the matter before legislative committees; representatives of other Leagues were invited to join, and took an active part in these efforts. Brief special arguments were presented by us to every member of the legislature, and letters were written at our request by prominent men all over the State, with the result that the passage of the civil service and corrupt practices act was soon generally regarded as absolutely certain; and a majority of the legislators were known to be in favor of both our leading measures.

Meantime some of our measures were defeated, as we expected they would be. Meantime, also, the city government had broken every one of its pledges, against the protests not only of the League, but the Republican party organ itself. Every appointment and change of officials was made a conspicuous thrust at the civil service idea, but was opposed throughout by a single alderman, who is a delegate to this Convention, with an unyielding courage that did him special honor as a representative of a sturdy and earnest race, and the practical and conscientious champion of a great principle.

Finally the city officials were interviewed and expressed themselves vigorously against the idea of reform without a trace of shame or hesita-

tion, and when the corrupt practices act was killed in the Senate Judiciary Committee by a sub-committee of two Senators, it might have appeared as if we had been defeated in nearly all our efforts. The contrary, however, is the case. We are in possession of the public opinion, not only of the city, but of the state at large. We have placed the legislature on record as a foe to popular government and the earnest wishes of the people. With the generous aid of the press all over the state we passed the civil service measure against the will of the city government, and of some of those who voted for its passage, a circumstance never known before, so far as I am aware, in the history of Milwaukee legislation, and we hope we have determined the character of the next legislature, which, of course, means the passage of our other measures.

In conclusion let me add that a large part of our work has been to impress upon the people the fact that far from being hostile to the best interests of any party, in a national sense, municipal reform is a joint effort on the part of men of varying political beliefs, to lift the skirts of party in general out of the bilge-water of corrupt city politics, to cleanse and strengthen all parties equally by cutting loose from the corrupt and limited elements that misrepresent them on every side, and leave city affairs to clean and independent municipal parties. It is war in all parties against elements of weakness and disgrace, and, for my own part, when the measures imperfectly laid before you are all in force, I am confident that it will be at least easier than it now is to do creditable and successful work at the primaries in behalf of good men, who will then cheerfully accept municipal office within as well as outside the party lines.

It must, however, not be inferred that we attribute too much efficacy to mere legislation, or that we have no other instrument of reform, but rather that we are confident that *judicious* and *comprehensive* legislation has a very useful place in the scheme of municipal betterment, as is conclusively proved by the history of the cities of England, Canada and all countries in which good municipal conditions prevail.

THE PRESIDENT: The meeting of the Board of Delegates stands adjourned, if there is no further business to be brought before us.

PUBLIC MEETING.

Wednesday, May 29, 1895, 8 P. M.

A public meeting was held in the First Methodist Episcopal Church, at which Wilson M. Day, Esq., President of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, presided.

MR. DAY: I came here directly from the train to-night to speak a word of greeting to the members of the National Municipal League who have gathered in our city, and who are here with us in this assembly. I have the pleasure of saying to these visitors that they are coming into an atmosphere which is congenial to them. We are working out a problem of municipal government here which we owe partly to Philadelphia. Under the provisions of our charter we place the executive power in the hands of the mayor, who groups about him a cabinet of advisers, who, in turn, become responsible for their subordinates. We are rather pleased with our plan, and while the results are not in all cases working as satisfactorily as we might wish, that is not so much the fault of the plan, as the negligence of the voters in failing to make it work to its fullest efficiency. We have succeeded in devising a system by which we can fix responsibility and hold to accountability; and our people are beginning to take some interest in the selection of the men who are to make and execute the laws, and we are reaching tangible results. Therefore we invited you to come among a community which is governed by a system which we believe will commend itself to your judgment.

We ask you to receive the greetings of this community which is made up very largely of cultured and progressive people. In the settlement of the great Northwest territory two elements combined—the pilgrim from New England and the cavalier from Virginia. These two races mingled, and their blood became enriched by that of foreigners of sturdy growth, and the result is a community which is pre-eminently American. We are proud to say that ours is a lawabiding and intelligent community. We are also working out in this city a problem of popular education on somewhat new lines. We believe the Cleveland system of public schools is a model, and is looked upon as such by educators throughout the country. We do not wish to be boastful, when we say we have a university in this community which is doing its part in elevating the standard of American citizenship, and producing that compound known as the American student-citizen.

We are glad we can welcome you, the distinguished representatives of this great movement, to a community which is altogether in sympathy with your aims. Your coming will leave with us new suggestions and new ambitions. It will cause us to criticise more closely our ideals and accomplishments. Therefore, along with our greeting we extend to you our thanks and our most hearty felicitation, and the cordial invitation that you may come to us once again.

But we are here to-night also to listen to the words which shall come from the representatives of the League men who are carrying its responsi-

bilities on their shoulders. It is a high privilege and a great honor which I have to introduce to you the first speaker of the evening, the honorable President of the League, James C. Carter, Esq., of New York City, who will now deliver his annual address.

MR. CARTER: I feel very much obliged, as I am sure the other members of the League do, for the very warm words of welcome which we have just heard from your chairman. We have come to the city of Cleveland, not so much to teach you, as to learn from you. I hope that we may find, in considering your municipal establishments and your form of government, and your ways of administering your municipal affairs, something to instruct us.

I regret to say that the address which I am about to deliver to you was prepared to be delivered to a very different audience. I did not suppose it was to be delivered to a general audience, but to the one or two hundred delegates of the League, supposed to be especially interested in the rather dry topic which engages their attention. In picturing some of the evils and mischiefs which grow out of the political systems of administration which prevail in some of our cities, I do not have in mind Cleveland, of which city I know nothing, but the larger and older cities in which political vices seem to have grown and reached maturity.

Mr. Carter then delivered his Annual Address. (*See Appendix*).

MR. DAY: We had hoped to have with us to-night the Honorable Theodore Roosevelt, of New York City. I know you will share in my disappointment when I say to you that he was obliged to send his declination at the last moment on account of his pressing duties in connection with police reorganization in New York. But our disappointment will be tempered by the fact that we have in his place a speaker of distinction, who is himself a veteran reformer in municipal life, Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, of Baltimore.

MR. BONAPARTE: I should be very sorry to requite the compliments with which your speaker has been kind enough to introduce me and the hospitable reception which my colleagues and I have received at your hands by in any wise interfering with the satisfaction which he has told us you entertain with your recent experiment in city government. I am not quite sure that I am justified in calling it a recent experiment, for while I do not know how long the form of city government which he said you were now trying with such satisfaction, has been under trial, I assume it has not been under trial very long, because I am sure if it had been you would not be so well satisfied with it. If I do not deserve all that he says when he calls me a "veteran reformer," I have been, at least, long enough in the service of the cause of reform to have learned a great many things.

which I would be better pleased not to know. It has been my experience that all devices of that kind work well enough till the professional politicians get the hang of them, and till the good citizens have become so well satisfied with their workings that they have ceased to keep their eye on the professional politicians, and then it is found that they don't work worth a very large sum.

We have had in the State from which I come an abuse of very long standing and of the most flagrant character; one which goes to the very source and essence of republican government, that is to say, the ingrown and apparently incurable habit of cheating at elections. Some years ago we introduced, after a long struggle and agitation, carried on through several years of political conflict, the system known as the Australian ballot; and it was thought by many worthy people that the days of the "repeater" and the "ballot stuffer" were done for. But these gentry are with us still. They are not particularly poor; or, at all events, if they are it is not their fault altogether. They get as much as they can for the votes which they cast without their owner's knowing it. At the recent elections which we have held in my native city we have discovered that it is still possible for a boss to write out the name of the candidate who shall be returned, if he can no longer be sure, as he once was, when he put in that name of the majority by which he should be returned.

There is, I think, a remedy for everything of this kind; for this evil and every other evil. But it is a remedy which will be a long time in coming.

I differ a little from my friend, Mr. Carter, and, of course, I am shown to be in the wrong by the mere fact that I differ from him; but still I will let you judge how far I am in the wrong by telling you that I really think the reason we do not have good municipal government, or good government of any kind, *does* lie in the sinfulness of man. If men were perfect we would have perfect government. We will never have perfect government because man will always be imperfect. We have bad government because the governing body—and that means all of us; those who have not votes as well as those who have; those who pay no attention to politics, perhaps, even more than those who do pay attention to them—because all of the community are not good enough to insure good government in the form in which we choose to require that our government should be administered. I am perfectly well aware that we all want good government up to a certain point. I fancy that every one would say—certainly every one in this audience—that his or her desire is that the city and the state and the nation should be governed better than any similar community ever was governed in the past. But you will remember the story of a

man who on one occasion, while going down to his business, saw a crowd of people standing around a person who had been run over. Everybody was sympathizing with the unfortunate sufferer, but this passer-by said: "I pity him one dollar's worth for a hack to take him home; how much do you pity him?" You all want good government. You are all fond of your country and your city, but what is the value in dollars and cents of this wish that you have to produce good government? What sacrifices of time and money and inclination and labor and prejudice are you willing to make in order to insure the ends which you would like to see brought about? There are a great many drunkards who, in their moments of repentance and headache, would like to be sober; but they don't want it strong enough to stay away from the next open bar. A great many men who are dishonest in commercial life would like a good reputation, if they could only do that which they wish to do with the proceeds of their dishonesty, and yet be honest too. The question is not—do we wish good government? but do we wish it enough to make the sacrifices which every man has to make to secure good government, when every man has to take a part in the government himself. It may appear that while I have suggested a remedy, I have suggested a remedy hopeless of application. But that is not so. When you have a great mass of water which you wish to raise to a certain temperature, and have no vessel or means of heating sufficient to enable you to apply heat to the entire mass at once, you can heat one small part of the water so very hot that it will raise the temperature of the whole. That is what we municipal reformers, and reformers generally, are trying to do. We are trying to work up ourselves and everybody else that we can get—like the fox whose tail was cut off, and who tried to persuade all the other foxes to do the same—to come under the contagion of our influence, up to such a pitch of excitement and interest in matters of civic duty, that we will be able to induce the great mass of good, rather than bad, citizens to take enough interest to discharge them to the extent necessary to procure reasonably good government. Good men are absolutely necessary to secure good government. They are the one thing without which you cannot have good government, and which, if you have it, will give you at least a tolerably good one under the most unfavorable surroundings.

As our President has said, if you have a man like Theodore Roosevelt as president of the police commissioners in New York, then, although you may have a police bill which was to a great extent revised—if I am correctly informed—by Boss Platt himself, still you will have a tolerably good police force notwithstanding. But you may have the best police bill you please, and put it into the hands of men like Inspector Williams—if that

is his proper title—and you will, in the end, have a police force like that in New York City, before it was taken out of the hands of men of that kind and put into the hands of men of another kind. Nothing will take the place of men in government any more than in matters of warfare. Fortifications and guns and all sorts of improvements will help good soldiers to do their duty; but the Japanese had a picnic when the men who were to use them knew nothing better than to run away. It was not rifle pits that would have stopped Pickett at Gettysburg if there had been no men in them.

The question which really presents itself to us at this time is, as the chairman has said, the cure of a moral and political disease. It is undoubtedly true, also, as our President has said, that to treat a disease properly there must first be a diagnosis of its character. But, ladies and gentlemen, the practitioner of medicine cannot wait indefinitely in order to be perfectly sure beyond a single doubt as to the accuracy of his diagnosis before he begins to apply his remedies. There is too much at stake. The raw material of his experiment is too precious for him to be able to wait till he has excluded any possibility of error, because otherwise by the time he has made up his mind what is the matter with the man, the man will be dead. He has got to cure him immediately, or try to do so, somehow, and the best way he can while waiting for further advancement of science to show him how he can cure him better. And so, while I would be loth to discourage every one here present, and every one engaged in the advancement of this reform, from the most careful, thorough and painstaking and scientific study of the problem, while you are studying it, I would tell you to act. When you see anything going wrong without looking into the remote cause, and without considering how such a thing might be avoided for all time to come, do the one practical thing which is to be done now—when you see a head hit it.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I am reminded very forcibly of a quotation from the story of Edward Everett Hale, which I think must be familiar to most of this audience. You will remember that when the clergyman, in his well-known story, provided himself with a double, he instructed that double what he was to say when called upon to speak. He said it frequently and always with approval; and I think I will merit the like approval at your hands if I say, with the double of the story: "There has been so much said, and, on the whole, so well said, that I will not further occupy the time."

MR. DAY: It is due to the chairman of the evening to state that in presenting the form of government of Cleveland his object was to present the patient to the doctor for cure. Perhaps the next speaker can help us.

I have great pleasure in introducing to you a young man with an old head on his shoulders—Mr. Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia.

MR. WELSH: I do not differ in any material degree from the gentlemen who have preceded me. I think that this question is one that must be looked at from many points of view. It has, like every great question, many phases, and it is a mistake for us to shut ourselves up to the belief that it is to be solved simply by a single recipe. To solve this problem there are certain great principles which must be followed, but these principles must be worked out in various ways, and each man has his own peculiar experience in applying them. A certain state of facts will impress one man more than another.

I should like to speak to you to-night of certain impressions which have been produced upon my own mind by the study of this question, not exclusively in Philadelphia, and yet very largely there. I feel about Philadelphia, touching the municipal question that it presents, very much the same kind of attraction to a student of that question that Turkey or Russia would present to a student of a virulent epidemic disease—the cholera, for example. We have in Philadelphia the spoils system developed to its fullest degree, and showing certain phases of development, which, while unlike those of New York, and lacking in some other impressive features, are to my mind not one whit less dangerous or less difficult to overcome than those of New York.

For years, in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia, the Republican party has been pre-eminent. Its power has been so great, our people have believed so fully in the necessity of maintaining it, that the opposite party has scarcely had standing room. In a reasonable equilibrium of political parties lies the general safety of the public. So long as the minority party is so hopelessly in the minority that it exercises no influence over the majority party, the majority party is sure to develop a high degree of corruption, and make the minority party corrupt, too, by buying it up. Our particular difficulty seems to be this: The national issue is tremendous, and every other consideration must make way for it. Our people believe profoundly in a very high tariff, and that it must prevail at all hazards. They insist on bringing it in where it has no business to be. During the past autumn I had a conversation with a manufacturer, an excellent man in every way, except, perhaps, in his political views. I spoke to him of the very undesirable character of a certain candidate for office. He said: "All you say may be true, and though he be as bad as you depict him, still, let the Republican party nominate him I will vote for him." I said: "You bring a very severe arraignment against yourself. You acknowledge we have serious frauds in our City Council and corruption in our municipal

government, and I point out to you one way by which you can get rid of them. You admit all this and yet you refuse to accept an opportunity to correct the evil." "Yes," he said, "but, nevertheless, I would not do it." He then said: "Your ideas are very good—they are excellent—but not practical." It was because they were too practical that he disliked to act upon them. The difficulty with us to-day is very much the same difficulty that prevailed when the question of slavery was pressing. We are afraid our pocketbook is threatened, and rather than have that we will suffer present evils.

We have our great corporations, which represent an immense money power. They conceive that certain legislation, partly to be gained through the state legislature of Harrisburg, and partly from the national legislature, and partly from the municipal legislature, is necessary for their financial prospects; legislation which must be had even by corrupt means. Is it any wonder that these corporations have their lobbyists, men who are used to do dirty work, who go to the legislature and to the City Councils, and by base inducements, bribes of one kind and another, bring legislators under their control? How can you expect good city government under such a state of affairs? It seems to me the results are of the gravest kind. The true cause for alarm is not because the gas is dim, the water impure or that there is little of it, the streets ill-paved or ill-swept and the city contractors, without doing their duty, drawing thousands upon thousands of dollars from the city. It is because the character of our young men and of the community in general is surely degraded by such a condition of affairs.

What I have depicted as existing in Philadelphia exists in other cities in this country. You may be without it here in Cleveland. You may not be old enough to have developed to that point where the spoils system has its full power; but unless you protect yourself against it by strong efforts you will suffer the same evils under which we groan.

When men have decided that they can get along without honesty they are in a bad way; and practically many men in charge of our public affairs have so decided. It was only during the past winter that our junior Senator stood on the floor of the United States Senate and spoke of a certain prominent politician who, he said, had confessed to him that if he violated his pledge and failed to nominate the man he had promised to nominate, because he was under the pay of a great corporation, he would incur the displeasure of that corporation, and he dared not risk the wrath of his masters. Here was a startling confession, but it surprised no one, nor did the accused man deny the charge. Our position is this: Instead of the city regulating and managing her own affairs upon a basis of honesty and common sense, she is controlled by this unscrupulous corporate

domination. What is the effect of such a state of affairs upon the community? Corporations are not mere imaginings of the brain. They are made up of men, and they have definite relations with the community. They are made up of men, often the most influential in our churches, and in many respects our most excellent citizens, and yet they are really responsible for these extremely serious evils. These men, if they chose, might put a stop in a moment to this condition of affairs. But when a little band of reformers appeals to them and asks for their influence in setting aside men whom they know to be corrupt in public life, their influence is not forthcoming, because they feel that "politics," as these men conduct them, are a necessary defense of the financial institutions upon which their success in life is based. They find themselves too much indebted to such politicians to aid in their overthrow. Their hands are tied.

Now as to the remedy. If you want to put it in one word, it is the remedy which Mr. Bonaparte suggested. There must be some effect produced upon the conscience of the community. Men must reach a point where they feel interested so many dollars' worth; they must realize that the danger is so serious that it is no longer safe to trifle with it. Without this reform is impossible.

As to the actual methods by which this reform should be worked out, they are the methods which have been so lucidly and logically brought to your attention to-night. I would lay, perhaps, greater emphasis upon the question of civil service reform, because it seems to touch a very profound principle. Civil service reform declares that the offices of the country, whether municipal, state or national, shall be administered honestly. They are no longer to be considered a great bribery fund open to the man who is strong enough to grasp them. By the application of the civil service reform law a man cannot have the power to bribe the men under him.

Something ought to be said on the enactment of reform laws, although I agree with those who have spoken before me, that law weighs lightly in the balance with the character of the men who must enforce it. Still we must have not alone good men, but good laws; for instance, a corrupt practices act, which takes out of the hands of political committees the power to use money corruptly; which requires all political committees to account for all moneys received and expended by them. I do not base my claim simply upon the ground of idle theory. I point to the fact that in England, where corruption largely ruled until comparatively recently, the corrupt practices act was powerful in preventing it. As has been said, if you have the best legislation in the world, you will have the worst possible results unless you have good men to administer the laws. Our city charter is, I presume, very similar to that of your city. It places great

power in the hands of the mayor, and puts great responsibility on the people of the city in the election of their mayor; and yet, while our charter is good, we have had the most complete failure in the last year in practical results. Our charter provisions for civil service reform, in the hands of officers who did not desire to carry them into execution, have been made practically a dead letter. The fifteen thousand employees in Philadelphia, instead of being admitted into service because of their fitness, have been admitted, to a large extent, because they wore the badge of the boss who sent them into the service. We must have a change in the hearts and minds of our people. I do not know how it is to come about unless by teaching them, line upon line and precept upon precept, the evidence of the evils which this bad system brings.

We have just erected in our city a great reservoir built by contractors who are part of the political machine which rules us. We paid \$1,500,000 for this reservoir, but it will not hold water; the authorities dare not fill it with water. I am in a position to know that no external changes which could be made in this great public work could make it fit to hold water, because the inside of the embankment, instead of being built with clay, as the specifications require, was built with a mixture of clay and sand, which renders it unfit to fulfil its purpose; and the city of Philadelphia is called upon to pay \$250,000, in addition to the \$1,500,000, in order to make this reservoir fit for the uses for which it is intended. The only thing we can do is to appeal to the people, who ultimately will listen, and when they do, we will overthrow this bad condition of affairs.

But, in conclusion, I would say what interests me most is not so much the question of the good government of Philadelphia, as the good government of the nation at large. But the municipality is the cradle of the nation. Bad municipal government will produce bad national government. What is to be the end of the American people? As George William Curtis has said, if you but once truly appeal to, and truly instruct, the American people upon the subject of any necessary reform, you will raise up a power which will bring about the reform which we desire. We must appeal to the national heart and to the national conscience. We must make our people feel that the honor of our nation is at stake. Not only the question of the city or the State, but the question of the nation is the one that should animate us. How can any one hesitate to do all in his power to discharge his individual responsibility in so important a matter? If we can inspire men with the idea of this personal responsibility, the whole nation will be aroused and our work will be done; for when you and I begin to think and our neighbors as well that it is not what some *other*

man does, but what *we* do that is going to bring about this result, then there will be a nation under arms for the great battle which is before us.

MR. DAY : After listening to the most able and convincing address of Mr. Carter, and that most engaging address of Mr. Bonaparte, and this earnest appeal from Mr. Welsh, all of which have stirred us profoundly, can we not hope that some agencies may exist in Cleveland to work out this plan of municipal reform? May we not hope to lift ourselves in time above mere party considerations in municipal matters and form a League for good citizenship? Our Chamber of Commerce is engaged in the work outlined in this meeting. May we not join hands with them, and here in Cleveland work out this problem of city improvement? We owe to these gentlemen a very great debt of gratitude. They have come hundreds of miles because they are so very greatly interested in this subject to which they have given time and thought, and we have been the beneficiaries of their devotion. Those of you who desire to express your gratitude to the speakers of the evening can signify it by rising to your feet.

Whereupon the entire audience arose.

Adjourned.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
THIRD
National Conference for Good City Government,
HELD IN
CLEVELAND,
Under the auspices of the
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE,
Thursday and Friday, May 30 and 31, 1895.

Thursday, May 30, 1895, 9.30 A. M.

In the assembly-room of the Chamber of Commerce. President James C. Carter in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT: The first paper to which we shall give our attention this morning will be one on the "Municipal Condition of Omaha," by the Rev. Gregory J. Powell, Secretary of the Municipal League of that city.

Mr. Powell read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Omaha." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: I beg to say, for myself, that I have listened with the greatest pleasure and instruction to this very clear and lucid account of municipal government and municipal evils in the city of Omaha. It fully presents to us the operations of our enemies, which we find everywhere; but this is the first time I have observed an experience growing out of sectarianism in municipal politics. Of course, it is just as much calculated to do evil wherever it makes its appearance as the municipal greed and corruption of those who have partisan spoils in view. I am glad to see, by the serious earnestness exhibited in this paper, that there is an awakening in the city of Omaha which will, I hope, regenerate the condition of things there. The next paper will be upon the "Municipal Condition of Indianapolis," by Lucius B. Swift, Esq., of that city.

Mr. Swift read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Indianapolis." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: We are storing up matter for the publication of our proceedings for the present year, containing abundant food for reflection, and this paper will be one of the choicest among the others. The next paper will be one on the "Municipal Condition of New Orleans," presented by Walker B. Spencer, Esq., Secretary of the Ballot Reform League of Louisiana.

Mr. Spencer read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of New Orleans." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: It is a dismal picture which our friend from New Orleans presents to us. He and his colleagues have the work of Hercules before them, and they have our best wishes for success in their efforts. The next speaker will be the Honorable George W. Ochs, Mayor of Chattanooga, Tennessee, who will speak on the "Municipal Condition of Chattanooga."

MAYOR OCHS: I think it requires a great deal of courage, after listening to these various recitals of dismal and horrible conditions in municipal affairs, for one of this despised municipal office-holding class to appear before this assembly. We have a very peculiar condition in my little city in the South. We have no Good Government Club, no Civic Federation, and no Municipal League. After what I have heard here this morning from New Orleans and Indianapolis and Omaha, I am reminded of a little story. A landlady asked one of her boarders to say grace at a meal. He looked around, and seeing the dishes that were there, said: "Madam, would it not be sacrilege to offer a blessing here?" I am afraid from my standpoint it would be sacrilege to go into the other side of the question. But I hope that after you have heard my report of the conditions in Chattanooga, you will know that, although we have no Municipal League, yet the nearest approach to it is the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of Chattanooga.

Mayor Ochs then read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Chattanooga." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: I am glad we have one representative of city government who can read us so useful a lesson as this. The next paper will be on the "Municipal Condition of Cincinnati," by Charles B. Wilby, Esq., of that city.

MR. WILBY: You will all join with me, I am sure, in congratulating the city of Chattanooga. Before I begin my paper I want to say that I entirely agree with what the Mayor of Chattanooga has said about the bad results of getting municipal government from the state legislature. We

know from the evidence which we have had here that there is no boss in the city of Chattanooga. When a city has a boss who absolutely controls the government of the city from within, it is very often the case that its citizens turn to the state legislature for relief. This is the case with the people of Cincinnati. But under the conditions which exist in Chattanooga, as our friend has explained them, such a course there would no doubt be a mistake.

Mr. Wilby read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Cincinnati." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be one on the "Municipal Condition of Columbus," by Mr. D. E. Williams, of that city.

Mr. Williams read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Columbus." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper with which we are to be favored is one on "Uniform Organization for Cities in Ohio," by the Honorable E. J. Blandin, President of the Civic Federation of Cleveland, and who, I may say, is the author of the present scheme of government for the city of Cleveland.

HON. E. J. BLANDIN: I quite concur in the sentiment I have heard so often expressed, that mere form of government will not be effectual to secure the necessary reforms in municipalities. I do not concur so readily in the sentiment expressed by Pope in a certain couplet:

"For forms of government let fools contest;
What's best administered is best."

Napoleon was twice asked to divide the command of the armies of Italy with another, and on both occasions he tendered the same reason for his refusal to do so, saying that the weaker of the two men would command better than both. If you think that by the securing of the most ideal men you can dispense with the need of securing the most correct form of government, let me tell you that your political bosses will not agree with you in that respect. When you have secured your ideal men and inducted them into office, legislative influence will be sought, and your men displaced. The only remedy for our municipal ills is, in my judgment, first to have a correct form of government; next to have it properly administered by the purest and ablest men who can be secured for that purpose. My topic deals with organization and forms of government. You have heard from Cincinnati, and what has been the result? The man appointed to conduct municipal affairs won, not because he was fit for the place, but because he was a Republican. And they call that eliminating politics from municipal affairs.

Judge Blandin then read a paper on "Uniform Organization for Cities in Ohio." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: A half hour or more will now elapse before the time which has been fixed for adjournment, during which time opportunity will be offered for asking questions and for brief discussion.

MR. H. A. GRIFFIN, of Cleveland: I have been requested by the President of the State Board of Commerce to seek an opportunity to present, for the information of this body, certain resolutions bearing upon the subject matter of Judge Blandin's address. They are brief, and if this is the proper time to present them, I will do so.

THE PRESIDENT: The Chair will be more correctly informed if the substance of them is read. They may be read.

MR. GRIFFIN: At the annual meeting of the Ohio State Board of Commerce in November, the Committee on Municipal Government was instructed to take up the question of municipal reform, and formulate some declarations. The committee met and formed a council of representatives from the commercial bodies of the state. The council was held in this city in April, and was attended by a large number of gentlemen who have had experience in municipal affairs, and the declaration of principles and resolutions formulated by them are as follows:

WHEREAS, It is apparent that real and substantial reform in municipal government cannot be attained by special legislative enactments for the treatment of separate municipal evils, but must be reached by general laws establishing conditions which will enable the people themselves to adopt and enforce reform policies; and

WHEREAS, The classification of cities, contrary to the terms and intent of the Constitution, has resulted in an enormous mass of special legislation, destroyed the safeguards against extravagance, promoted enactments against the interests and desires of the people of municipalities, deprived them of the opportunity to adopt reforms and provide for their normal development, and tends to minimize their individual responsibility for safe and effective government; and

WHEREAS, The spoils system of dispensing official patronage is destructive to competent and honest official service, and is condemned by the best thought of the age in all advanced communities; and

WHEREAS, The confusion of legislative and executive functions in the departments of city government is contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and impairs or destroys the checks and balances without which good government is impossible; and

WHEREAS, The responsibility of municipal officers to their constituents for good government must be largely inoperative, or ineffective, without authority on the part of the electors to determine the local policies that shall be enacted and enforced; therefore it is

Resolved, By the Conference of the Ohio State Board of Commerce that the General Assembly be respectfully and earnestly petitioned to repeal

the classification of cities, and to provide for the government of all cities by laws uniform in their operation throughout the State; and

Resolved, That such general laws should provide for the complete separation of legislative, executive and judicial functions in city government, and assure direct responsibility to the electors for faithful and efficient official service; and

Resolved, That, so far as practicable, all the subordinate officials below the rank of heads of departments should be placed under civil service rules as to their appointment and discharge; and

Resolved, That it is essential and necessary to the inception, development and adoption of reform measures adapted to the needs of the several cities of the State, that the people of these cities shall be accorded the fullest degree of home rule consistent with the provisions of the Constitution; and

Resolved, That the General Assembly be also petitioned to establish a bureau for the collection and tabulation of municipal reports, which reports should be prepared by municipal officers in a uniform manner, to be prescribed by the head of such bureau, in order that correct comparison of municipal expenses may be made.

Approved: (Signed) J. Park Alexander, Luther Allen, Perin Langdon, S. J. Patterson, L. S. Baumgardner, C. E. Holden, Committee on Municipal Government.

MR. L. E. HOLDEN: It may not be the proper time for the adoption of these resolutions, but we desire to have the substance of them brought into the records of this Conference in some way, so they may go into the printed proceedings. We consider it a vital matter in Ohio, and in many other States, that uniformity of laws for the government of cities be established, and that these laws be in accordance with the principles in which we believe as reformers of municipal government.

THE PRESIDENT: The Chair would say that this assembly of delegates is gathered for the purpose of conference, and not for the purpose of final action. It would be imprudent to commit the entire affiliated Leagues to resolutions which may not be subject for debate. But it is desirable to have propositions which may be made the subjects of thought and reflection for the delegates placed among the records of the assembly. These resolutions will, therefore, be declared as out of order for final action, but any disposition short of that may be made by the assembly by reference to the Executive Committee, or that they be received and placed upon the files of the League.

MR. GRIFFIN: There was no desire on part of the Committee of the State Board of Commerce to have any action taken on the resolutions. They are presented simply for information, that the Conference may know what the Ohio State Board of Commerce is doing in this matter.

On motion of Mr. Holden, duly seconded, the resolutions were re-

ceived as a report from the Ohio State Board of Commerce and referred to the Executive Committee.

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS: Something ought to be said in reply to the criticism by the gentleman from Cincinnati, of the Reform League of that city, with which I have co-operated and shall co-operate again. Let it not be forgotten that the fountains of the current civic revival are religious. Earlier movements were occasioned by the increase of taxes, but this by the increase of vices. Its sources are the pulpit of the Madison Square Church, in New York, and the office of the *Golden Rule*, in Boston; the words of Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst and of Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark. Our great cities have each been ruled by a triumvirate—Tammany under various names, with patronage and saloon domination as its associates. The half failure of Brooklyn and New York is due to the fact that in each case only one of the triumvirate was killed; only Tammany. Patronage survives in cursed strength, and saloon domination, also. Chicago has a far more complete success in that it has killed both Tammany and patronage. Mayors may come and mayors may go, but civil service reform goes on forever. It remains to be seen whether saloon domination will be sent to the tomb, following the ring and patronage, or will survive, and so in time revive them. In order to have successful municipal reform we must add to the watchword, "No National Politics in City Elections," another motto: "No Saloon Domination." Except in "no license" campaigns a municipal election cannot say "No saloons," but it can and should say, "No saloon domination." Lord Roseberry, who is no Puritan, declares that we must say that much in order to have decent politics. Charles Stewart Smith, Chairman of the Reform Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, says: "When the rum question is settled here, we shall have good government."

Besides the two negative planks named, municipal reform should have the following two positive planks in its platform. First, "we ask only obedience to law," the motto of the International Law and Order League, of which I have the honor to be honorary Secretary; second, the city referendum on valuable franchises and large appropriations as the people's veto of jobs and boodling. As to law enforcement, let it be noted that Sunday lawlessness overflows into the week. When a mayor is elected with the understanding he is to allow the laws as to the Sabbath and liquors and gambling and purity to be broken, both electors and elected are demoralized by this silent partnership in law breaking.

The laws against Sunday work and Sunday dissipation are not, as intimated, laws designed merely for the protection of religious services, but they are also for the prevention of crime and for the rest of toilers.

The United States Supreme Court, so recently as 1885, in a unanimous opinion, declared Sunday laws to be sufficiently justified, even in the case of those who do not recognize the religious obligations of the day; by their economic and hygienic necessity to the great army of the toilers.

THE PRESIDENT: There is no subject that will be more interesting to the representatives of reform clubs than to learn as much as possible about the operations of the unpaid board of legislators in the city of New Orleans, and the remarks of Mr. Spencer leads me to ask the question whether in a city a better class of men are willing to serve without compensation if called upon to do so.

GEN. JOHN C. GRAVES, of Buffalo: I should also like to inquire of Mr. Spencer whether there has been any unwillingness on the part of the best citizens of New Orleans to serve upon the Common Council without compensation if the position was tendered to them.

MR. SPENCER: Answering these questions as briefly as possible, I would say that there does seem to be a very general objection to serving in our Council on the part of the busiest men, and the best men of the city, for the reason that any man who attempts to perform municipal duties must do so at a great sacrifice of his time. This is one of our reasons for wishing to return to a more concentrated form of government, and one by which we may be able to pay sufficiently large salaries to a small number of men, who shall properly manage the affairs of the city.

HON. A. R. CONKLING, of New York: I wish to say a word on Mr. Spencer's paper in regard to ballot laws and fraudulent registration, a subject not referred to by other speakers. I think one of the most important things is the enforcement of election and registration laws. Mr. Spencer says that they estimated six thousand fraudulent votes out of twenty-two thousand. I will give you a better showing. In Kansas City there were 7,400 fraudulent votes in 29,000. That was more than one-fourth of the votes fraudulent and stricken from the roll. I am certain that that was correct. In Albany out of a little less than 20,000 votes I am told 3,000 were fraudulent, or a little more than one-seventh. It is not so much a question of candidates as it is of the enforcement of law; and if the Good Government Clubs and City Clubs would take hold of this thing on the first day of registration, and enforce the laws, by having watchers, as we do in New York, to serve at the polls for one day and see that the election and registration laws are enforced, it would put away, to a large extent, this evil.

MR. F. M. HOYT, of Milwaukee: I do not know whether it is in order at this time, but if it is in order I would like to extend an invitation to this body to hold its next meeting in the city of Milwaukee. I am told by the

Secretary that it is necessary to present this matter to the Executive Committee.

MR. BONAPARTE: As hold-over Chairman of the Executive Committee, temporarily, and until the selection of my successor, I desire to make two announcements. First, if the form of acceptation necessary takes the shape which is usual in practical legislative bodies I am its proper representative, and I will take charge of it and see that it is put where it will do the most good. Second, I desire to announce that for less practical business than that, there will be a meeting of the Executive Committee immediately after the afternoon session to-day. I will take this opportunity to request of the newly-elected members of that Committee that they show their devotion to their office, and their willingness to serve in it, without compensation, except such as has been suggested, by attendance at that meeting immediately after the adjournment this afternoon.

Adjourned until 2.30 P. M.

Thursday, May 30, 1895, 2.30 P. M.

President Carter in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT: The first paper will be on the "Municipal Condition of Pittsburgh and Allegheny," by the Hon. William M. Kennedy, Mayor of Allegheny, Penna.

Mr. Kennedy read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Pittsburgh and Allegheny." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be on the "Municipal Condition of Jersey City," by Dr. Isaac N. Quimby. I am informed that Dr. Quimby is absent, and I shall have to call upon some gentleman here to read his paper.

MR. BONAPARTE: I am sure we would all listen with a great deal of pleasure to this paper of Dr. Quimby, but I am informed by the Secretary that another paper, which ought to have been upon the programme, but of which he was not informed in time to get it into the programme, is here, and the author is here. I therefore move that the paper of Dr. Quimby be read by title only and printed in our proceedings, and that the time thus gained be given to the paper of Dr. C. C. P. Clark, of Oswego, N. Y., after the other papers of the afternoon have been disposed of.

Which motion prevailed.

THE PRESIDENT: The paper prepared by Dr. Quimby on the "Municipal Condition of Jersey City" will be read by title, and incorporated

in our proceedings. (See *Appendix*). The next paper in order is on the "Municipal Government of Louisville, Ky.," by Frank N. Hartwell, President of the Louisville Good City Government Club.

Mr. Hartwell read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Louisville, Ky." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be one on the "Municipal Condition of Buffalo," by Mr. Frank M. Loomis, President of the Confederated Good Government Clubs of that city.

Mr. Loomis read a paper on the "Municipal Condition of Buffalo." (See *Appendix*).

At the close of his paper Mr. Loomis said: I must ask the privilege of speaking a very few words in addition, words of protest, suggested by what was said on this floor yesterday afternoon and again in the church last evening. I am one of those who do not believe, and do not think there is sufficient cause for believing, that our municipal ills can properly or primarily be attributed to the lack of moral fibre in the American people. There is no doubt, as was well said by our President on that occasion, that our condition is largely due to the extreme partisan spirit manifested in our municipal elections. That partisan spirit is not necessarily unpatriotic. It is, rather, an intense patriotism to my mind, misdirected by the agents of political parties, and done because of the extreme ease with which it can be done under our present electoral system. You know that it is practically impossible for an independent in municipal elections to make his influence felt at the caucus. That is due to our system. In England it is not so. As I have said in my paper, they overcome that obstacle by voting for only one candidate. Under those circumstances you can, without any undue multiplicity of candidates, place any number of names on the official ballot. That effectually destroys the system of ring rule. It is better than the system of proportional representation. I do not believe that Americans are worse than others. I find it difficult to account how eminent men and earnest reformers will speak from pulpit and platform of the differences existing between our municipal governments and the municipal governments of foreign nations, and yet never suggest that there is any difference in the system, or that we take their experience. All I have to say is, give an American citizen an equal chance, put him on the same footing with his English neighbor, and there will be no reason to complain of lack of civic spirit in the American. I have not made any personal references. What I have said is for this reason: I believe this skepticism and cynicism which is manifested in this continued talk about the degradation of the American citizen is unnecessary, and unworthy of us and the cause which we represent.

THE PRESIDENT: The Committee on Arrangements have deemed it expedient to defer the reading of the paper by Mr. Richardson until tomorrow morning, when it will take the place of another paper, the author of which will not be present. The time, therefore, remaining at our disposal will be devoted to the hearing of a paper not upon the programme, entitled "A Logical System of Municipal Elections, Effecting a True Organization and Empowerment of the Public Will," by Dr. C. C. P. Clark, of Oswego, N. Y.

Mr. C. C. P. Clark, Jr., then read the paper of Dr. C. C. P. Clark, entitled "A Logical System of Municipal Elections, Effecting a True Organization and Empowerment of the Public Will." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: Opportunity is now offered for any suggestions or questions which may be raised by any of the papers which have been read.

MR. N. F. HAWLEY, of Minneapolis: We have come here to obtain information, and we have got it. Yet it has occurred to me that there may be still a better way by which we may get information in regard to the governments of our cities and civic matters. We, in Minneapolis, realize the necessity of knowing how cities throughout the United States are governed; not only as to the form of government, but the sentiment which lies back of that form. This League forms an excellent means of obtaining that information, and my suggestion is whether the Executive Committee will not organize what might be called a Bureau of Information and Statistics. There is, it seems me, no reason why every Civic Club and every affiliated member of this organization should not be a means of giving information. What are the good things in the various cities which might be adopted by other cities? What are the facts as to finances, and how to curtail expenses? I make these suggestions, and if necessary, I will put it in the form of a motion.

Secretary Woodruff made a motion that the matter suggested by Mr. Hawley be referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act, which motion was seconded by Mr. Hawley.

THE PRESIDENT: The Chair is impressed with the benefit which might possibly and probably be derived from such means of collecting information, and of digesting and arranging it and furnishing it to the members of the League in such manner as to make it available. This involves the question of expense. What means the League may have for that purpose, and how far they may be able to go in the direction of raising money to spend in that direction, is well worth their attention. It is moved by the Secretary, and seconded by the author of this suggestion, that it be referred to the Executive Committee to examine into the expediency of establishing

a Bureau of Information, with power to act. As many as are in favor of it signify it by saying aye.

The motion prevailed.

MR. F. L. SIDDONS, of Washington: I should like to know if the Executive Committee of this League is discussing the general question of municipal government in this country, and whether the members of the League may expect something from the Executive Committee on the general subject of municipal government.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Bonaparte will furnish you the information you desire.

MR. BONAPARTE: Nothing was done at the session of the Executive Committee yesterday, because there was no such session. At the previous sessions of the same body nothing has been done on that subject for different, but decisive, reasons. The members of the Executive Committee are not very numerous. They are, for the most part, rather busy; and they are, to a great extent, scattered throughout the country. The amount of work which they have had to do with regard to the actual business of the League has been very much greater than I suppose most of the delegates present would presume, and I am quite satisfied that none of the gentlemen belonging to the Executive Committee during the past year have had the time or the opportunity, even if they had the natural ability, to take up a work of such magnitude as is suggested by Mr. Siddons. Several new members have been added to the Executive Committee at this election, and its possibilities in the future I will not pretend to forecast. In regard to the suggestion made that we attempt to set up a Bureau of Information and Statistics, we have attempted to do it by permitting our Secretary to answer, as well as he can, questions that are asked him on the subject. He has done a great deal of work of that kind, and considering the great disadvantages under which he has done it, I think it is safe to say that it has been remarkably well done. I think it would be quite practicable to make the League a source of information on all subjects connected with the study of municipal government in this country, and with the practical problems of municipal government in this country; and all that would be needed for that purpose would be an appreciable, but by no means very exorbitant, amount of money. I think from \$2000 to \$2500 would enable us to supply the necessary printing, postage, stationery and clerical force necessary to enable the Secretary to give the information desired. I think he has had many inquiries on this subject from all parts of the country.

A DELEGATE: I would like to ask whether it will be within the bounds of possibility for this League to issue some form of digest or very brief synopsis of the charters of the various cities of this land. It would not be difficult for the Secretary and the Executive Committee to secure copies of

such charters, especially of cities represented by the affiliated clubs. Would it be possible to so reduce them as to simply give a skeleton? I am sure such a compendium would contain a great deal of valuable information to those seeking light along these lines.

THE PRESIDENT: The suggestion which has been made in relation to a Bureau of Information is a proper one, and, as it appears to the Chair, the collection of a resumé, or skeleton sketches of the various city charters, would be the proper work of such a Bureau. The establishment of it is possible if it is possible to raise the funds to cover the expense. In reference to the matter of expense I will say on behalf of the officers that our only regular income is derived from the annual fees of the associate members of the League, which are five dollars. It is desirable for many reasons that the amount should not be increased, and at the same time it is very desirable, as the fund raised is very small indeed, that it should be increased in a certain way, and that is by increase of the actual members. It is suggested, and I make the request earnestly to the various societies who are affiliated here, that they take steps among themselves to increase as much as possible the membership of the National League. That would add to our strength in many ways, and certainly in the matter of increasing our revenues. Our revenues, also, may be increased by those who may have the disposition and the ability to increase them. They have been so increased by Mr. Brandeis, of Boston, who distributed a large fee he had received from certain professional work among reform bodies, and between \$100 and \$200 has come to us in that way. There are many gentlemen connected with this Association whose interest is not measured by the annual fee of five dollars. Any contribution from members of the Association, or from others from whom they can obtain them, I am sure would be abundantly repaid in the use which the Treasurer would make of them. In that way it might be made possible for the Executive Committee to establish a Bureau of Information. This matter of increase of revenues is one which the Chair earnestly begs may be taken into consideration by the various members.

A DELEGATE: My club has authorized me to arrange with the daily papers here to send a copy of the papers containing the proceedings to each member of the club. But I am told that they are to be published in pamphlet form. If so, I would prefer to send that.

THE PRESIDENT: It is probable that everything will be published, but it will take a month or two to do that. The Secretary will be very glad to take orders for copies so he may have reliable information as to the number that will be desired.

A DELEGATE: It seems to me if we are going to benefit by our studies

we must study the history of good government rather than the government of American cities. We should study the municipal government of Great Britain. You will get more good in ten minutes out of Doctor Shaw's book than you will in a year studying the municipal misgovernment of American cities.

MR. JAMES W. PRYOR, of New York City: I do not understand that the ruling of the Chair precludes the passing of resolutions in the nature of expressions of the sense of this meeting. The papers we have heard throw light upon us, and we ought to put ourselves on record as having been led to these conclusions, which seem to me to be the direct and logical outcome of what we have heard.

Mr. Pryor then read the following resolutions, but, on motion of Mr. Bonaparte, the consideration of them was deferred until the next session of the Conference:

WHEREAS, In the experience of the cities upon which reports have been made to this Conference, abundant illustration is presented of the fact that endurable municipal government may be secured at the hands of honest and efficient officers under favorable legislation, and that, on the other hand, no legislation can secure good government at the hands of unfit officers; and

WHEREAS, The experience of cities of Great Britain and of some of the continental countries of Europe emphasizes the importance of city charters under which the efforts of worthy city officers may best be made effective; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the National Municipal League that, for the greatest efficiency and economy in municipal administration, two things are necessary—namely, honest and able public officers, and such a scientific, coherent and harmonious system of local self-government under State constitution and general State statutes as shall create favorable conditions of municipal administration.

Adjourned.

Friday, May 31, 1895, 9.30 A. M.

President Carter in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT: The first paper will be on "Municipal Government by National Parties," by Mr. Charles Richardson, Vice-president, National Municipal League and Philadelphia Municipal League.

MR. RICHARDSON: I feel sure no one could have listened to our chairman with more appreciation than I did the other evening. My pleasure was, however, mingled with a somewhat different feeling, for, as he proceeded, I gradually realized that my own paper, which I had been

appointed to prepare, would be looked upon as a very feeble imitation of some of our chairman's ideas and arguments. I thought at first I would ask permission to withdraw it; but I felt afterwards that the ideas and arguments which our President presented to us with such superb effect Wednesday evening would certainly be worthy of repetition and additional emphasis by another member of the League.

Mr. Richardson then read a paper on "Municipal Government by National Parties." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: It so happens that the authors of several papers assigned for this morning session are not present, and consequently the Committee have determined to dispense for the present with the reading of their papers. The next paper to which I shall call your attention will be that upon "Civic Federations," by Prof. Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago.

PROFESSOR SMALL: As I read on the train this morning the account of what had been said here yesterday, I feared that my message from Chicago might disturb you; for, certainly, I have a different report to make from that of the other gentlemen who have spoken on the municipal condition of their cities. The millennium has not arrived in Chicago, but there has been a long stride towards it during the last year, and our report is, therefore, altogether favorable. In speaking of "Civic Federations," we are telling of an institution which is different in many respects from the ordinary Municipal League. We went back to first principles, and instead of attempting to reform bad men who have constituted our city government in the past, we concluded it was necessary to reform good men who had not constituted the city government, but ought to. Accordingly, we have been reforming our good citizens during the last year, and with wonderful effect.

Prof. Small then read a paper on "Civic Federations." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be one on the "Law Enforcement Societies," by George Frederick Elliott, Esq., President of the Brooklyn Law Enforcement Society.

MR. ELLIOTT: I have no apology to make for my paper, it is bad enough, and it will speak for itself. There are no flowers in it and no flights of imagery. It was not my purpose to deliver this paper in person, and when your indefatigable Secretary wrote me I thought I was too busy even to write a paper. I subsequently wrote one with the intention of sending it on to be read, but when I saw that so distinguished a personage as our President could devote so much time to this work and attend meetings of this kind throughout the country, I thought such an insignificant person as myself could devote a day or two to a public service of this kind. Our organization is but an infant. The Parkhurst Society, which is familiar

to the world, is some ten to twelve years of age. We are hardly that many months old. But we have clear and defined purposes, and we think we have a reason to exist.

Mr. Elliott then read a paper on "Law Enforcement Societies." (See *Appendix*.)

THE PRESIDENT: There is one of the papers, the author of which is not present, which by reason of its especial merits and interest, and because it is by one of the Vice-presidents of the League, we thought it would be best to have read.

On motion of Mr. Woodruff, the following papers, the authors of which were not present, were received, read by title and ordered to be printed in the proceedings of the Conference: The "Municipal Condition of San Francisco," by Isaac T. Milliken. (See *Appendix*). The "Municipal Condition of Seattle," by Edward O. Graves. (See *Appendix*). The "Municipal Condition of Denver," by Hon. Platt Rogers. (See *Appendix*). The "Municipal Condition of Detroit," Rev. Donald D. MacLaurin, D. D. (See *Appendix*).

Mr. Woodruff then read a paper entitled The "Municipal Condition of Portland," by Thomas N. Strong, Esq., Third Vice-president of the National Municipal League. (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The way is now open for discussions and suggestions respecting any of the topics which have been handled in the papers which have been read, or for other suggestions. Among them I may say that more or less observation has been made in reference to the plan upon which our conferences have been conducted, and in reference to the mode in which the greater part of the time has been employed. We have had many papers read here of great merit, but very little time has been open for discussion. The Executive Committee, I am very sure, would be very glad to receive any suggestions from delegates here present as to the plan upon which future meetings should be conducted. We should remember that while so many papers occupy a great deal of time, that they are the fruit of deliberate thought; and furnish, perhaps, the greatest amount of instruction and information. On the other hand, open debate is more interesting in its character, but sometimes the fruit of less thought and less deliberation. Probably the way in which these two elements are to be mingled is a matter of expediency which the members of the Executive Committee have in view, but I am sure they will be glad to receive suggestions.

MR. JOHN A. GANO, of Cincinnati: What a refreshing breeze we have had from Chicago. I was nearly filled with despair in listening to the reports from all directions of the bad administration of city govern-

ment, until the results of work in that city were stated. I have been strongly impressed that the lack of proper public sentiment is one source of the difficulty; and with regard to public sentiment the press of the country has more to do than any other agency. We have had a very sorry experience in our own city in regard to the press; it has afforded no help. Numerous experiments in municipal reform have been made; perhaps in no city has there been a greater number of experiments in that line; and by the diligent efforts of a few good men recently, our city government received a new charter from the legislature, in the preparation of which some of the best minds of the city were employed. The charter, as prepared by the committee having the matter in charge, was a very good one and acceptable; but a few innocent amendments were asked for and unwittingly they were granted. Through these amendments the evil element is about as successful as it was before. The great curse of our administration has been the bi-partisan boards.

It is obvious that the worst crimes against political rights (and what rights are more precious?) are perpetrated in cities. The cause is, perhaps, as obvious as the fact. Of Jefferson's wise aphorisms none was more true than that "cities are festering sores on the body politic." It is possible that the assertion was meant to express a different idea as to the relation of politics to municipal government, but as things political go now it applies perfectly, for the cities are the hot-beds for propagating nearly every crime that is perpetrated against the rights of electors. Not only is this true, but resistance to this form of crime is the more difficult to organize because of the heterogeneous character of the population.

It may briefly be claimed that municipal corporations should not be the political engines that they are. They are public trusts. To secure the best administration of these trusts it is evident that the selection of trustees should be upon much the same principle as the selection of trustees for organizations where large amounts of property are at stake, and where the shareholders, from the very nature of things, cannot well take active part in the management of the complicated parts of the trust. In this view, it would seem that, instead of the mixed and conflicting divisions of responsibility which now exist in city government, there should be a concentration of authority and responsibility in the hands of a few, who would bear to the trusts much the same relation that directors of banks, of railroads, insurance and other companies bear to their trusts.

Let all boards administering the affairs of cities, whether legislative or executive, governing or administering the affairs of cities be abolished. In their stead have a board of governors, who shall have charge of all the business of municipal government; these governors to be, in numbers,

apportioned to the number of inhabitants as enumerated at proper, stated periods, on such basis as this, namely, for each city of twenty-five thousand inhabitants or less, three governors; twenty-five thousand to fifty thousand inhabitants, four governors; fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand, five governors; seventy-five thousand to one hundred thousand, six governors, and so on. These governors to be elected on tickets at large; and after the first election one-half of them when numbers are even, and an extra one when the numbers are odd, to be elected every two years, each governor to serve two years. Upon these governors to devolve the entire management of the city affairs except, perhaps, such duties as may be prescribed for an auditor, a treasurer, a clerk of the board, and also for tax commissioners and, possibly, for the school board. The governors to choose annually one of their number for presiding officer, who shall be, *ex officio*, the mayor of the city, entrusted with such authority as may be requisite. Details as to what powers he should have are fit subjects for discussions and adjustment.

MR. GEORGE FREDERICK ELLIOTT, of Brooklyn: One principal cause of municipal misrule is that men hold fast to their party in municipal, as well as in state and national issues; the Republicans on one hand and the Democrats on the other. It seems to me that one way to bring about good results is for every state to pass laws to have state elections held in the month of November and municipal elections at another time. In the majority of states the election machinery is the same for the municipal officers as for the state and national officers. The same convention answers for the state and national officers. I believe in good government, and I believe in separating municipal from state and national conventions. In my judgment we should have municipal elections in the spring.

MR. J. E. CLAREY, of Des Moines, Iowa: We have spring elections in Des Moines and we still have bad city government.

MR. L. E. HOLDEN: I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to these discussions, and to the papers, especially. I consider them certainly superior to any collections of papers it has ever been my pleasure to listen to in the same space of time. We are all agreed that this meeting is a decided success; there is no question about that. The mission of this League is to create the right kind of public sentiment. We know in this country only one supreme power, and that is the power of public opinion. In our democratic government we all believe in the right of representation, and that the people should all be represented in our representative bodies. We know that the will of the people is not represented in many instances. Here is a large floating vote that is purchasable, which swings from one election to another, and we are cursed to a great extent by it. I have be-

lieved for a long time that one of the great remedies for this is minority representation. I believe, taking the two great political parties to-day, that the great mass of them are honest in their convictions; they are American and believe in the American government, but differ as to the mode of administration of government. When a conflict comes up this purchasable vote is swung from one side to the other by the money that is used to purchase it. The two great political parties at their meetings in Minneapolis and Chicago did not dare to lift their hands, except as the money power of New York and Wall Street said: "Put this in your platform or you can't have the money." I was there and know whereof I speak, and they were there with their agents, and they dictated the platforms, so far as the money question was concerned, and they agreed to sell the birthright of these two great political parties for a mess of pottage.

I make this introductory statement simply to ask that some one be requested to bring to our next meeting a paper, showing to what extent minority representation has been carried in different sections of this country, and to elaborate a plan by which it can be made more effective.

THE PRESIDENT: The Chair will remind Mr. Holden that there is no doubt that the Executive Committee would receive with great pleasure any carefully-prepared communication upon the subject of minority voting. If Mr. Holden is interested in that subject doubtless he can find some one to prepare such a paper.

MR. HOLDEN: I do not know of a better person, or a person better able to do that, than the President of this Association.

THE PRESIDENT: I should first have to convince myself that that is the best remedy.

MR. SPENCER: I am sure all those present will agree with me in saying that the programme mapped out for this meeting has been a most interesting one. It has brought to the knowledge of all the delegates present the condition of government and the form of government in a number of cities in the United States. I have noticed, however, that there is lack of discussion relative to the merits of the different systems which have been laid before us. I would, therefore, suggest that in preparing the programme for the next annual Conference we have papers upon the various features of municipal government; for instance, let them discuss the question whether or not municipal officers should be paid; how they should be paid; whether they should receive large salaries, or whether bodies, like a Council or a governing board, should receive salaries at all. Also the question whether or not it is more advisable to have cities controlled by a Council, elected by the people, or by boards appointed by the mayor or some other officer; or whether or not it would be better for a city to be

governed by several boards operating and working the various departments in which the municipal power should be centered. I would also suggest that another subject of great moment be discussed, and that is whether or not it would be advisable and proper for cities to be governed by large bodies, or whether the municipal function should be vested in a few well-paid individuals, or boards, as the case might be. Also, I think that the question as to whether it is advisable that the City Council should be elected by a limited and small constituency, or by the city at large, is important. Our experience in New Orleans has been that a Council, elected by a limited constituency, is subject more than any other to bossism. Bosses are able to control a large number of the councilmen of every Council. Whereas, good citizens of the city might have a majority in the entire city. Where a man is elected by a small constituency, he regards that particular constituency as the one he must look up to and to whom he is responsible, and he does not care anything about the rest of the city.

MR. F. L. SIDDONS, of Washington, D. C.: I rise to speak upon the tendency of likening municipal corporations to business corporations. We are agreed that whether a man is a Republican or a Democrat is of no consequence when you consider him for office in a private corporation. It would be well to follow the methods of private corporations in this respect in municipal affairs. But the vital difference between a business corporation and a municipal corporation is this: A business corporation is engaged in the work of profit to a few stockholders, while a municipal corporation is dealing with men and women and their general welfare in home and daily life. I think the effect of the government of the municipal corporation is brought home to men and women composing the municipality much more forcibly than is the case with legislation in state or federal government. I think I see danger in the tendency to which I have alluded, the tendency to carry this resemblance of the municipal corporation to the business corporation, too far.

MR. C. AUGUSTUS HAVILAND, of Brooklyn: I want to say in reference to the suggestion made by the gentleman from New Orleans, that the city of Brooklyn, under the reform rule of Seth Low, eight or ten years ago, obedient to the act of the legislature, provided for electing aldermen by wards. Within three years we found that a certain boss was perfectly satisfied that he had secured all the aldermen in the city of Brooklyn. Since that time we have been fighting to get back, and we have had the bosses fighting us, to ward elections.

MR. MONT. G. CURTIS, Troy, N. Y.: If I came here with the idea that Troy was the worst city in the country, that idea has vanished. But we have a man who started from a brewery, went through the aldermancy to

the mayor's chair, and then to the United States Senate. He is still our local boss; but it is said that he will soon remove to New York City, of which we are very glad. Six years ago the business men of Troy organized, and undertook to study whatever was for the good of the city. We secured from the State legislature a public improvement commission which expended a million dollars for public improvements, half of it being paid by the city at large. The debt of our city is only about \$1,200,000. The trouble in Troy has been the same as in other cities: We have been ruled by a strong, preponderating majority on one side, and the result has been the formation of a corrupt ring. Our citizens have been neglectful of their duties, and various evils have sprung up. But owing to the generous and energetic efforts of our citizens, there has been a great improvement. You probably heard a year ago of one election in which a young man was killed who was standing up for his rights as a citizen at the polls. That resulted in the formation of a body of one hundred men, called a Committee of Safety. This Committee took that matter in hand and secured the conviction and punishment of criminals of that kind. Great good will result from the efforts of that Committee, which is still alive and active as a vigilance committee, constantly procuring evidence. When they strike they strike hard; they are a constant menace to evil-doers. Troy is a progressive city. We are proud to say we have a City Club of over one hundred, but recently organized; and it is going to work in all the wards. We propose to continue the fight, and to be able to stand with all our sister cities in the front ranks of this great movement, which we realize is as important a movement as has been known in our country for one hundred years.

REV. LEVI GILBERT, D. D., of Cleveland: I would like to make a suggestion with reference to the dissemination of the ideas contained in these papers which have been read. These papers are unparalleled in interest and importance. I owe a great debt of gratitude for the copy of your first proceedings. I read that through from the first paragraph to the last, and gave several discourses out of it to my people and before audiences in various parts in Ohio. I did not claim originality, but gave out the ideas obtained from that volume. There are hundreds of clergymen and other people greatly interested in this work, and they are anxious to indoctrinate their people, but they have not access to the information which they need. I think a cheap edition, which might be sold at a nominal price, should be gotten out, of these proceedings, and made available for purchase to the poorest man. It would be well if some could be sent out gratuitously, so that everywhere this seed might be sown. When we get every clergyman and every moral reformer interested, and bring them into touch with these

ideas which have been expressed here, then this movement will be more largely beneficial, and what we have said here will be multiplied many fold.

DR. L. B. TUCKERMAN, of Cleveland: It is found by the medical associations which have existed for years that thoughtfully-prepared papers preserved in a volume do more good in the long run. The proceedings of this society put into a volume would, I believe, be sought by all the libraries in the United States, and would thus become a mine of information, to be drawn upon and to be used for comparison and study. I also believe that the Committee is wise in spending most of the time at these meetings in listening to papers carefully prepared.

MR. CHARLES RICHARDSON, of Philadelphia: In reference to the suggestion of Mr. Elliott, I would say that we have had for more than twenty years in the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania a provision for the separation of the municipal from state and national elections. We have our municipal elections in the spring. We have also had for more than eight years in the charter of Philadelphia a provision for the appointment to all subordinate positions of men after competitive examinations, and without regard to their political opinion. I think it is not too much to say that there has never been a better example of the utter futility of the very best of laws when they are not sustained by sufficient public sentiment.

MR. J. E. CLAREY, of Des Moines: I want, on behalf of some few here, to say that while clearly endorsing the suggestion made by Mr. Richardson in favor of a better citizenship, we think the idea ought to be brought out more strongly that there is such a thing as improving a system. I represent a city where we have had aroused public sentiment. I came here after four months of almost continued devotion, with a committee of four other gentlemen, to a public matter which has aroused our city from one end to the other. We had a fight with the gas company. Notwithstanding this fact we have had the utmost difficulty in keeping the aldermen from delivering the goods that were sold long ago; but we have done it by this overwhelming public sentiment which has been created. But now we have a system there that puts us absolutely at the mercy of corporations that have interests in franchises. We are handicapped by governmental machinery. Every few days we learn that a new official has been appointed and a new place created. The machinery is so bad it allows new men to be put in to add to the efficiency of the ring. I didn't want to allow such an impression to go out as might have gone out last night, that we only needed better citizens. We need a better system, too.

REV. GREGORY J. POWELL: I come from a city one hundred and fifty miles farther West than Des Moines. We have a peculiar animal out West which we call a broncho. He is supposed to have been introduced first

into Mexico as an Arabian horse, and he has become a very strange mixture. I went out on the frontier some time ago, and, as a "tender foot," I thought I must secure one of these wild Western horses. I learned more of human nature in the two years that I rode that horse on the Nebraska prairies than from my relations with any dozen men. An Englishman who was trying to describe this animal after a tour through the West said: "He 'umps 'is back and 'ighs 'is 'ead, and I can't remain, you know." We have the broncho in our Omaha municipal government. We have him in the Des Moines municipal government, according to the testimony of the gentleman who has just spoken. I have been making some inquiries since I came here and I find you have the broncho in Cleveland and in New York City. What is that broncho? It is our present system of city government permitting private institutions in the forms of corporations to do for the city what the city must do for itself. I am frank to say, from my observation and study of this question, I do not believe we shall ever have honest municipal government till we take away this source of corruption from our state officers. Perhaps as important a truth as this Conference can consider is the taking out of private hands of these sources of evil. We have a very efficient city engineer in Omaha. He has a national reputation for his great ability. He told me the other day—and he is a most advanced thinker upon municipal reform lines, though he is not a member of the Municipal League, or he couldn't be in the employ of the city—he told me that in his observation of twelve years, nine-tenths of all the political corruption can be traced to corporations.

MR. FRANK N. HARTWELL, of Louisville: A matter of great importance in connection with the work of this League was touched upon a while ago when the press was referred to. I am glad to go back to my home and report to my constituency that one of the most active men at this Convention was the editor of one of the local papers. I think that we should, by some action as a body, call attention to the fact that the press of Cleveland has given unstinted space to reports of our proceedings, and in its editorials has commended without qualification the objects and efforts of this disinterested set of men.

MR. JAMES W. PRYOR: The general subject which has brought us together is, I suppose, in the estimation of nearly all present, one of the most pressing questions, if not the most pressing question, now before the American people. I think we should all be glad of expressions of like belief, and of sympathy with our belief as I may be able to offer in a very few words. It has been suggested by one of the delegates from the City Club of New York that the committee of that club adopt as their motto this pregnant utterance of Dr. Parkhurst: "No checks will dampen our

interest or palsy our activity." In brief resolutions I have expressed that sentiment, and I should like to recommend their adoption.

Mr. Pryor read the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, The government and the institutions of the United States are founded upon the capacity of the individual citizen for self-government; and

WHEREAS, Popular government in the large and rapidly-growing cities of this country has practically failed to develop capacity for local self-government in the citizens of our municipalities; and

WHEREAS, Citizens who fail in their duty to the local governments which affect daily and intimately the happiness, the comfort, and the personal safety of themselves, their families and their neighbors cannot continue to discharge the duty of citizens of the nation with that patriotism upon which our forefathers founded our federal government; therefore be it

Resolved, That in the opinion of the National Municipal League the present condition of local government in the great majority of the cities of this country is such as to threaten the integrity of our institutions and ultimately the existence of the nation; and

Resolved, That in the opinion of this League the question of municipal government demands the serious consideration and devoted service of all citizens who would not have the rottenness in our city governments spread throughout the body politic.

Also the following resolutions:

WHEREAS, In the experience of the cities from which reports have been presented to this meeting of the National Municipal League, abundant illustration is presented of the fact that endurable municipal government may be secured at the hands of honest and efficient officers under unfavorable legislation, and that, on the other hand, no legislation can secure good government for a city at the hands of unfit officers; and

WHEREAS, The experience of cities in Great Britain and in some of the continental countries of Europe emphasizes the importance of city charters, under which the efforts of worthy officers may best be made effective; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the National Municipal League that for the greatest efficiency and economy in municipal administration, two things are necessary, namely, (1) honest and able public officers, and (2) such a scientific, coherent and harmonious system of local self-government under State constitution and general State statutes uniform throughout the State as shall create favorable conditions of municipal administration.

THE PRESIDENT: These resolutions will go to the Executive Committee.

MR. N. F. HAWLEY: This has been in part an experience meeting, and I wish to say a word or two in reference to Minneapolis. As your League met with us last winter I need only speak of what has occurred since. We have a mayor who has a vetoing power, which is not absolute, and we have a city controller and a city treasurer. The mayor has control of the police, otherwise the Council has entire power to make all appropriations

and to spend all moneys. The Council appoints all heads of departments, and has practical control of the city government. We used to have spring elections and it was decided not best, and we have them now with the national election. We have no civil service rules and we have very few of what are considered the modern necessities of good government, and yet in Minneapolis we think we have excellent city government. We have no boss. The one who came nearest to being one was the street railway boss, but we have disposed of him. We attribute this good government not to the form of our government. We think we would have good government under the federal plan. We attribute it to the high state of moral sentiment and public opinion throughout the whole city. I believe that if that is exercised continuously it will secure good government. There has been discussion here as to whether men should be first and measures afterward. Whenever men can be brought to bear on the situation bring them forward, and when you need new measures consider them. The proper way to treat this question is to have the proper power brought to bear at the right place at the right time. The main power must consist in public sentiment. It is not merely a question of getting good men or getting good measures, but fundamentally a question of perpetual and continued—I won't say agitation—but education to raise public sentiment up to what it should be.

HON. ALFRED R. CONKLING: I wish to emphasize the statement of Mr. Strong, of Oregon, in regard to the foreign population and the matter of universal suffrage in Portland. I have often heard it said that in New York and Eastern cities the ignorant foreign vote and the system of universal suffrage are the causes of bad government. Now in far-off Portland, a city of seventy thousand inhabitants, with almost no foreign population, and with universal suffrage, but of the educated class of voters, they have bad government. I am glad to hear that they have formed a Municipal League there, which has partly redeemed the city government. I wish to emphasize the fact that the ignorant foreign vote, so called, is absent in Portland, and also the ignorant universal suffrage element; yet, from what you have heard of Whitechapel, they were certainly very badly governed people up to the time of the organization of the Municipal League.

Now a word in regard to Mr. Spencer's paper about unsalaried aldermen or common councilmen. In England and Scotland I think all aldermen are unpaid, except the mayor, who receives a good salary. I have long believed that if we had unsalaried aldermen we would have a better class of men in office. In Eastern cities the majority of the Common Council is generally a lot of ward ruffians. There may be one banker, or

one lawyer, or one merchant in a board of twenty-five or thirty men. I think that is a fair average. In the cities of New York and Brooklyn we have a great many men with assured incomes who devote as much time to charity and to educational work as the aldermen of New York devote to their official duties. The aldermen of New York meet once a week, except during two months in the summer. I think a hundred hours in the entire year would cover the work of a New York alderman. I am sure we have men, who are active and unselfish, working for the Good Government Clubs and spending much more than a hundred hours during the year in that kind of work without expecting to receive any reward by office or in any other way. I will go further and say, there are men active in literary and athletic clubs, which, of course, are unpaid, where they give more than a hundred hours in the year to work of that kind.

One more word in regard to the Common Council. You have heard of the Brooklyn plan. In my humble opinion the best form is to have aldermen-at-large, with proportional representation. If you elect them at large they will all be of one party, except in the close cities. In the larger cities there is generally a very large majority. It is so in New York, Brooklyn, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Albany, and until a year ago, in Chicago. The proportional representation plan has worked well in Illinois, and for many years in Denmark and in Southern Switzerland, especially in the Canton Ticino. With such a system you would get better men. For instance, in New York City Tammany Hall runs a different class of men for mayor than for ward aldermen. They have ward aldermen who are saloonkeepers, whereas for mayor they have a man of some standing, and often a man of considerable means, who has never been indicted or arrested. They would not trust an ordinary ward alderman to be on the general ticket. I recommend proportional representation.

PROF. JOHN R. COMMONS, Bloomington, Ind.: I should like to say one word on proportional representation, especially with reference to the discussions which have been going on here in connection with the relations between federal and city politics. While all agree that we must separate city politics from state and federal politics, the problem is how are you going to do it under the present system. Here is the way we have attempted to do it. We nominate a mayor, and we put all the power of the city government in his hands. We nominate one man from each political party or faction. The question is, how many chances are there for election to that position? When you figure it down, you will find that the choice lies between two candidates, and in our system that means between those of the two main political parties. As long as we centre the municipal contest upon one candidate for one office, which office carries

with it all the spoils, and the determination of the policy of the city, it means that we are narrowed down to the two political parties which have the machinery, and which control the nominations. Proportional representation proposes to lessen the significance of the mayor in the government, and to exalt the importance of the Common Council. If the Council consists of twenty men, then we don't need half of the citizens to elect a candidate as under the present ward system. One-twentieth of the voters of the city can elect their man and have him there continuously, without the possibility of his being ousted by machine methods. We have in all the cities in this Union certain voluntary societies: Law and Order Leagues, Civic Federations, Municipal Leagues, all without power in the city government, and yet endeavoring to form public opinion and to control city affairs. If one of these leagues would put up its candidate, he would not be a man who would have to knuckle down to the politicians. He would be the strongest and ablest man; and if they possessed one-twentieth of the votes, they could put that man in the centre of municipal power, controlling the expenditure of the revenues of the city. This is the machinery by which we will take city politics out of federal politics, and this is the only machinery I see in the field. It will enable independent political movements of the best citizens to put their man in the centre of power, irrespective of the domination of the political parties. I should be glad if the experience of foreign countries could be laid before you, in order that you might take it to your homes and study it.

MR. MONT. G. CURTIS: I would like to say that I approve most heartily of what the last speaker, Professor Commons, has said. I think he has offered us a suggestion directly in line with what we have been advocating—the separation of civic affairs from national politics. His suggestion is worthy of thought and study. I wish to throw out a thought in regard to Mr. Conkling's suggestion concerning the payment of aldermen. In Troy we have not paid our aldermen anything for years. You would think that none but good men would care for the positions, but we have the poorest, rottenest lot of aldermen you can find. It is not a question of salary, it is a question of the character of the board. If it is an honorable board in its character, you can get honorable men to take the positions whether they have salaries or not.

MR. ISAAC ADLER, of Rochester: In the matter of the publication of the proceedings of this Conference, I would like to suggest that a speedy publication may be of great importance just now. Our state government has just appointed a Commission to provide general legislation for cities of the second class: Albany, Troy, Rochester and Syracuse. This Commission has been well selected, and the members are anxious to provide the

best legislation possible. One of them is relying largely upon our proceedings for light in the matter. His particular topic concerns the power of the mayor and council. The earlier these proceedings can be procured, the more good they will do.

REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS: Apropos to what was said in the paper of Mr. Strong, of Portland, as to the partial conquest of its Whitechapel, I wish to say, as one recently resident in Pittsburg, what Mayor Kennedy, of Allegheny, was too modest to say publicly yesterday, though he confirmed my previous knowledge of it in private, that he has purged that city of one hundred thousand inhabitants of its brothels. There was in it, when I was last resident opposite, and there is to-day, not one tolerated house of death. It is probably the largest American city of which that can be said. Mayor Wier has given like proof that this curse is not a "necessary evil." He first organized a refuge through Christian women and then enforced the law. Of the women, one hundred and forty-three sought refuge from their evil life, and the property used for evil was turned to proper uses.

Adjourned.

Friday, May 31, 1895, 2.30 P. M.

President Carter in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT: The first paper will be on "Civic Religion," by Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., of Columbus.

Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., read a paper on "Civic Religion." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be one concerning a city in which we take a great deal of interest, and which is administered under such very different conditions from those to which we have hitherto given our attention, the city of Washington. The paper is entitled the "Municipal Condition of Washington, D. C.," and will be presented by F. L. Siddons, Esq., of that city.

MR. F. L. SIDDONS: Before adding my contribution to any symposium of this Conference to be offered to the people of the country, I think it is only fair to the organization which it is my privilege to represent here to say that whatever in this paper may partake of opinion is the personal opinion of the writer, and not to be regarded as the opinion of the organization which I represent; but there are hundreds and thousands who agree with me in what I say in this paper.

Mr. Siddons read a paper entitled the "Municipal Condition of Washington, D. C." (See *Appendix*).

On motion of the Secretary, the paper of Dr. John S. Billings, of Washington, D. C., entitled "Good City Government from the Physician's

and Sanitarian's Standpoint," was read by title and ordered spread upon the proceedings.

THE PRESIDENT: There is one view of good government which must not, under any circumstances, be omitted, and that is the woman's view; and on this occasion we have a paper prepared by a lady, Mrs. C. A. Runkle, of New York City.

Mrs. Runkle read a paper entitled "Good City Government from Woman's Standpoint." (See *Appendix*).

THE PRESIDENT: I regret to be obliged to say that I shall not be permitted to remain with you and listen to the other papers on the programme and participate in the closing scenes of this Conference. I am obliged to go and make preparations to take the train. I cannot help expressing my gratification, and my acknowledgment of the instruction and pleasure I have received from my attendance upon this congress. I am sure these Conferences are accomplishing the great object for which they have been called. We come together for the purpose of gaining information and participating in the benefits of the experiences of different cities, and to endeavor to consolidate and co-ordinate, and in that and other ways to stimulate the advancing public sentiment which, I think, is destined to work great benefits in our land. I hope you will not expect any extraordinary or miraculous results from this or future Conferences, but will feel satisfied that there is great and substantial advantage to be gained. Let us proceed in our own homes and localities in the attempt to work out there the particular problem which lies before us to be solved.

I will call to the chair vice-president Richardson.

Vice-president Richardson then assumed the duties of the chair and presided until the close of the Conference.

MR. RICHARDSON: I should like to express, on behalf of this assembly, what I feel sure we all feel very strongly, and that is our pleasure and gratification with the manner in which our President has presided over these meetings. The next and the last paper to be read is entitled "The Work of Christian Endeavor Societies in Behalf of Good City Government," by John Willis Baer of Boston, Secretary of the United Societies of Christian Endeavor. As Mr. Baer is not present the paper will be read by Rev. J. Z. Tyler of this city.

Mr. Tyler read Mr. Baer's paper entitled "The Work of Christian Endeavor Societies in Behalf of Good City Government." (See *Appendix*).

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to the report of the Executive Committee, Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, Chairman.

MR. BONAPARTE: The Executive Committee has held two sessions during such odds and ends of time as it could find between the sessions of

this Conference. It has requested me to offer a resolution which, I feel very confident, needs no discussion, because it will express the spontaneous and unanimous sentiment of the delegates to the Conference. The resolution is as follows :

Resolved, That the National Municipal League assembled in its Third Conference for Good City Government, records the grateful appreciation of all delegates to this Conference for the generous and graceful hospitality extended to them by the citizens of Cleveland and for the unwearied and successful efforts of the officers and members of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce and the Civic Federation to promote their comfort and the pleasures of their stay.

The above resolution, upon motion of Mr. Bonaparte, was unanimously adopted.

MR. BONAPARTE : The Executive Committee have had referred to them various resolutions, to which they have given such consideration as the time at their disposal has permitted. They have decided to recommend to the Conference not to adopt any resolutions. In so doing they are, of course, not to be understood as disapproving of the sentiments embodied in any or all of the resolutions which have been laid before them. But they would have had to determine a serious question of policy for the League, namely, whether it is best to attempt to do anything more than simply to enable its various members to better promote their separate work in the respective vicinities of their several associations. Without determining this question of policy by establishing any inconvenient precedent for the future, the Executive Committee feel that if any attempt were made to do this, it should be pursued by a careful consideration of all the resolutions offered, by a committee appointed for that purpose and for that purpose only, in advance of the meeting of the Conference. They have no difficulty in recognizing their own incompetency under the circumstances in which they are placed, and with the small amount of time at their disposal, to discharge any such delicate and important duty.

I was further directed, Mr. Chairman, to explain to the Conference that the Executive Committee, after weighing the very hospitable and pressing invitation extended to the Municipal League on behalf of the cities of Milwaukee and New Orleans to hold its next meeting at one or the other of these two cities, decided that it would be premature to determine the exact place of our next Conference, and that the matter can be decided with greater probability of promoting the interests of the League if its determination is postponed till some time in the ensuing autumn, possibly after the fall election. The Committee feel very strongly the force of the appeal made to them to aid, by such a Conference as the present, the work of certain associations whose members thought it would be de-

sirable to have our assistance in promoting the ends which have the cordial sympathy of the Executive Committee and of all members of the Board of Delegates, or of this Conference. But nevertheless, we think it important that representatives of local associations should consider that, however individual members may feel in their work, the Committee is bound to consider rather the effect of a meeting such as this upon its own general work, and the promotion of the ends throughout the country for which it has been formed, than the results, however gratifying in themselves, which might ensue to associations in the particular localities of our meetings. I make this explanation to show the position of the Executive Committee in regard to a matter in which it may seem unjustifiable on their part to postpone action.

The only other matter, Mr. Chairman, which I think need be communicated to the Conference is the fact that the proceedings of the Conference will be published, subject, of course, only to the one condition which is always involved in matters having a financial side, viz., that the funds enabling us to do so shall be forthcoming. The Secretary will be glad to receive information from individuals or associations as to the number of copies of these proceedings they desire, as well as copies of the Minneapolis Conference.

On motion of Mr. Pryor the above report of the Executive Committee was unanimously adopted.

MR. PRYOR: I should like to inquire whether certain resolutions which I offered yesterday, and which were laid on the table, are covered by this report.

MR. BONAPARTE: Your resolutions found their way before the Executive Committee under a ruling of the President, who is not here to explain, but for which I have no doubt he had ample reason. The ruling was that all such resolutions were, as a matter of course, received. The Committee wish to be understood as in no wise evincing any hesitancy, individually, in recording Mr. Pryor's resolutions. But they thought it might lead to embarrassing incidents if they undertook to pass resolutions on subjects which might be suggested at this Conference. Doubtless in this particular resolution substantial unanimity would be found to exist; but as to other matters which have been discussed here it is probable that entire unanimity would not exist, and there would not be time for adequate discussion of questions of such delicacy and importance at the close of a long and eventful session.

MR. PRYOR: I asked the question because I desire to bring these resolutions before this body, and the method which I should pursue in endeavoring to do so depended upon the reply to my question. I was going

to move to take them from the table, and I should like a ruling from the Chair as to whether that would be in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; I think not, after they have been referred. I think they have been considered by the Executive Committee.

MR. PRYOR: I think we ought to appreciate the delicate position of the Executive Committee. They could not take any other action than that which they have taken. We, as delegates, are not in any such delicate position. If this body sees fit to go upon record with an expression of opinion I do not see what is to prevent them.

Mr. Pryor then read for the second time the resolutions which were read the day before and referred to the Executive Committee and moved their adoption, to which motion there was no second.

MR. SPENCER: There was a question referred to the Executive Committee yesterday about which I have not heard anything further. It struck me as being of such importance as would entitle it to consideration at the hands of the Executive Committee. It is the question of establishing a Bureau of Information. Has the chairman of the Executive Committee made any report as to that?

MR. BONAPARTE: It has been impossible to give to that subject the time needed for its consideration. It was brought to the attention of the Executive Committee, but there were so many questions, only a few of which I have alluded to in my report, to which the Committee could give attention, and it was decided that this was a question which could wait till a subsequent meeting of the Committee. I am personally very much pleased to understand that the Executive Committee will take that under consideration. I believe large benefits can be obtained by the Leagues throughout the country through a central means of obtaining information and statistics concerning municipal government. I hope the means will be found to carry it out. I believe that it could be successfully carried on by the university men in this country, who are ready to aid in gathering statistics of this kind.

MR. L. E. HOLDEN: As we are about bringing our deliberations to a close, it is my privilege and my duty to say to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the delegates here, that the people of Cleveland, especially the Chamber of Commerce, feel that they are indebted to you, not you to them, for coming here and giving us your presence and your help. Now, as you are going away, we hope that it will not be many years hence when you will come back here to hold another Conference, and when we can know and feel that there is a complete divorcement throughout the United States of state and national politics from the government of cities.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the time has come to close this Conference.

If the hour was earlier and the temperature lower and I were better prepared, I should be glad to offer a few concluding remarks. As it is, I will only express what I think we all feel, a sense of great encouragement at the wonderful progress and the infinite importance and high character of the work in which we are engaged. I believe, if we each do our full duty during the coming year, when we meet in our next Conference we shall find our ranks largely recruited from the best and noblest of the American people.

I now declare the Conference adjourned.

THE DINNER.

The Hollenden, May 30, 1895, 8 P. M.

Mr. J. G. W. Cowles called the assembly to order in the absence of Mr. Holden and asked President Cady Staley, of the Case School of Applied Science, to act as Toastmaster.

THE TOASTMASTER: I believe it has occurred to many a thoughtful mind that the most serious danger which threatens our republican institutions to-day is the corruption which has crept into our municipal governments. It is not felt so much in smaller towns, but the dangers arising from it increase with the growth of a city. "The government of the people, for the people and by the people," of which we have heard so much, has become in many large cities a government "of the people" sure enough, but by the boodler and for the boodler. While we in the city of Cleveland have not suffered as much from this evil as has been the case in some of the larger cities, still the most enthusiastic Clevelander, I think, would be willing to admit that there is some chance for improvement even in our municipal government. I believe we are agreed that improvement is needed in municipal affairs, and, therefore, who could be more welcome in our city than a body of gentlemen who have given their time and talents to the study of this matter and to the spread of improvement in municipal government?

When the old Arab chief desires to make a visitor especially welcome he meets him at the door with a piece of bread. Following his custom the citizens of Cleveland have offered a piece of bread—and a few other things thrown in—to their visitors. One of the delegates here in making his address to-day said that though very few, comparatively, were interested in this municipal reform, still he was not discouraged; that all that was needed was activity, perseverance and labor towards one end, and that would bring success. If these are the qualities requisite—labor, perse-

verance and activity toward one end—and if the whole Municipal League is well represented here, and we may judge them by the industry they have displayed during the last hour or two, I believe we may say with assurance that final success is certain.

The first toast of the evening is "The National Municipal League." This League believes in civil service reform and continuing a good man in office. The gentleman who has served the League so well during the past year as its President, has just been re-elected President. It is now my pleasure to introduce to you Mr. James C. Carter of New York City, President of the National Municipal League and of the New York City Club.

MR. CARTER: I am very much obliged to you for the courteous reception you have given to me. I am sure, if we had all the time in the world at our disposal, you would not care to hear anything further from me. I have talked so much that there is no more talk left in me. And if there were any more talk left in me I should not want to indulge in any more of it upon the not very agreeable subjects of municipal maladministration which have engaged our attention. I rejoiced in coming here to-night because I thought we could dismiss from our thoughts and minds all recollection of the boodlers and the spoilsmen, and the base conduct of the political manipulator and the professional politician, and contemplate other and more agreeable things. We may, at least, find refuge in turning from the present and looking to the future, and if we cannot find extreme satisfaction in witnessing the present operations of municipal government, we may look for another and a better day when our labors shall have had their full fruition, and when the cities of America may present a fairer aspect than they do now.

Mr. Toastmaster, you have said a great deal in reference to the city of Cleveland. You have intimated that these evils which are so widely experienced in municipal government, while they might afflict very large cities, are comparatively unknown here. That kind of a speech will do very well at the dinner table, but we old hands who have been contemplating the operations of municipal government in the United States for so many years know too well that no three hundred thousand people live together in this country under the present system of government without presenting a crop of mischiefs and evils of the most fruitful character, which will give you and your fellow-citizens abundant and useful labor for a long time in uprooting. You have had a good deal to say about the Federal plan of municipal government, and I have noticed from the papers which have been read before our body that there is a certain change going on all over the country; a change, the successful accomplishment of which we have

witnessed in New York, and successful steps toward which, I perceive, are being taken by other cities in the land. I mean the change by which the municipal council, call it the Board of Aldermen, the Common Council, or whatever you please, which originally had entire charge of the civil government of a municipality, is being step by step stripped of all its powers, and the cities governed more and more by legislative enactments. This is done in the main under systems where the principal authority is bestowed upon the mayor, so that he is made a sort of autocrat, as it were, so far as the appointment of officials is concerned, this power being lodged in him. I am fully aware that this change has become necessary in consequence of the degeneration which we deplore, and which we are seeking to remedy. The necessary effect of that degeneracy is to strip the people of every city in which it occurs of the power to govern themselves. It is a departure from the true principles of democratic government, and a departure in which we compare most unfavorably with citizens of foreign lands who live under monarchic government. We find the cities of England persevering, advancing and employing in all their force the principles of democratic representative government in the administration of their cities. The contrast is one which I do not like altogether to dwell upon. I look forward to the day when, if we can bring it about by any of our own efforts, the citizens of our land shall again manifest themselves as worthy of the exercise of political power, and when they shall demand and receive from their legislature the power to control their own destinies.

THE TOASTMASTER: In carrying on this war against corruption in municipal government it is necessary to enlist soldiers, and in order to enlist soldiers it is necessary to employ a recruiting sergeant. Fortunately we have one here who can tell us about this matter; one who has not only had great experience in this line, but is skilled in presenting to the public whatever he has experienced, both by tongue and pen. I have the pleasure to introduce to you the Honorable Albion W. Tourgee, who will speak on the subject, "The Recruiting Sergeant in the Army of Good Citizenship."

JUDGE TOURGEE: I happen to be one of that class who do not live in a city. Chautauqua County, New York, is said to be enjoying that delightful condition which the chairman has alluded to to-night and which has been frequently mentioned during the discussions of this Convention—a condition which makes it unnecessary for the rural population to consider the question of municipal reform. It seems to be the general impression among those here that innocence prevails in the rural districts as it did in the Garden of Eden. I beg to say that our rural county has long been known as a Republican Tammany; and if any one thinks that any-

thing can be taught to the people of Chautauqua County on the subject of bosses and ring supremacy, or any sort of political devilment, if he will come down and stay with us a little while we will cut his eye teeth for him. These revelations concerning our large cities fill me with a great deal of horror, because I believe that this evil is not much greater in the city than in the country, only more condensed and accentuated. I have in memory a gentleman who represented for a number of years the county of Chautauqua in the New York Assembly. Some of his constituents upon one occasion remonstrated with him in regard to something he had done. He is reported to have said in reply: "What the devil have you got to do with the matter? I paid more for the votes in the nominating convention than your whole town pays in State taxes." This statement is believed to have been literally true.

It will not do, gentlemen, to despise the country. The rural politician can always be relied on to find out when a good thing is on, and make himself felt on the side which has the biggest "bar'l." Doctor Parkhurst and the Good Government sentiment beat Tammany in New York, and had a lot of votes to spare, but when they met the country at Albany they were laid out as stiff as a mackerel without a ripple of unusual exertion on the part of their rustic opponents. It will never do to leave out the country, gentlemen, when you talk about good government in the city. City and country must go hand in hand in the highway that leads to good government or be bound hand and foot under the rule of the boss. I don't believe, gentlemen, that we have begun to reach the full significance of this problem. It is a corruption that touches our whole life—urban and rural—and is only to be eliminated by improving the character of the citizenship.

I want to express the great pleasure I have received from attending the sessions of this Conference. I hope no one will eject the remark that it was a "fool's errand;" I am always on the watch for that pun; I know it is lying around somewhere waiting to spring out and terrify me with its perennial freshness. On coming here I felt some doubt as to whether I should find it altogether enjoyable. A "fool" is naturally uncomfortable when wise men abound, and I have occasionally attended meetings where I was affected with a consciousness that there was a great number of people who knew a great many things with a great deal of positiveness. This is very depressing to one who knows a little, and is even doubtful about what he thinks he knows. It has been a great pleasure, therefore, to listen to these papers and find that while all were agreed as to what ought to be done, hardly any two agreed in the way of doing it. I found it thoroughly delightful to witness these veterans in the struggle for mu-

municipal reform still looking for some way to accomplish the end. I was especially gratified at the statement, in which all seemed to agree, that the mere form of law is not the most important thing; and I was intensely glad to hear that sharp, clean-cut statement about the necessity and value of good law from your Cleveland representative, Judge Blandin; and the general accord upon the axiomatic truth that what is required is, first, the very best organic laws, and, second, the very best men to administer such laws. I do not think any man will ever question this; I think I knew it even before I came to this Conference. Indeed, I have the feeling that it is a truth so old as to be almost fundamental. What troubles me, and what I hoped to learn something about here, is how to get the best laws and the best men. It seems to be a general belief that nothing good in municipal government is to be hoped for from party action. Indeed, one gentleman very emphatically stated that this is "the shibboleth of municipal reform." But what are you going to substitute in the place of it? The city depends upon the state for its laws. The state is controlled by parties. What are you going to do about it? Once in twenty years there comes a revolution. Some party has acted so shamelessly in some great city that the people rise and overthrow its power. This we call reform. While we are congratulating ourselves for our civic virtue, the party, it may be the same party or another, slips back into power, takes us by the nose and leads us about again at its own sweet will. It seems to me that the question as to what ought to be done is very simple and the question how to do it very complex. I do not fancy the term reform. It savors too much of pulling down one thing to build up some other thing. I like better the term betterment—the doing the best that can be done under all circumstances. So I feel like asking now, not what is the best thing that could be done in municipal affairs, but what is the best means by which attainable betterment may be achieved. If it cannot be done through parties how shall it be achieved? Josh Billings said: "The best way to milk a kicking cow is to stand off about twenty feet and holler, 'So! darn ye!'" That method may do in agriculture, but I doubt its effectiveness in politics. If parties cannot be made to serve as the instruments of the impulse toward good government, we must have something else, and, in my opinion, that something else must be stronger than party and must be impelled by the same sort of motive power—in other words, it must rest squarely on the universal impulse of individual advantage—an organization that shall unite and hold all who believe that municipal welfare is worth more than party success, and which shall impress on the average citizen the fact that good government is above party advantage. Now, how is this to be done?

It is said that Mr. Jefferson once got a notion that a windmill might

be erected on a hill in the jaws of the gap near Monticello, where there would be no lack of wind. The mechanic whom he employed to do the work seemed inclined to make some objection. After a time Mr. Jefferson asked what was the matter—was there not always a good breeze there? "Oh, yes," responded the knight of the chisel, "plenty of wind; but what troubles me is, how you are going to get your toys up here!" That is my position; I have no doubt about any of the theories here advanced giving good government in cities if we had the proper laws and the proper men to carry them into effect. The question in my mind is, how are you going to get the people of the state to give us the best laws and the people of the city to give us the best men. What is the alembic that is to dissolve the bonds of the party, if they must be dissolved? Is it not necessary that you come down at last to better citizenship as the only practical and reliable means of improvement? We have had a deal of discussion about civics—the means by which government in cities may be improved. Is it not time we gave some attention to civism—the character of the citizen through whose action betterment must come?

We are told that the impulse of a few accomplishes much. We have been pointed to that miracle in New York of the last fifteen months, and are told that it was the result of one or two sparks flashing out from a few men's hearts. I have read with wondering joy the peculiar—and beautifully quaint—egoism, if I may so term it—I think that is much sweeter than our English term egotism—of our friend, Doctor Parkhurst, who naively assumes that the overthrow of Tammany sprang from that February sermon. No doubt it did. It was a wonderful sermon. Some of you have perhaps seen a spark of light dropped into a barrel of gunpowder and remember the result. Was it the spark that made the explosion or the gunpowder—or both? In our citizenship to-day there is a vast amount of gunpowder, and into it fall the sparks which you, gentlemen, if you please, emit. Is it your sparks which fire the gunpowder? Is it not true that we are inclined to give too much credit to the sparks and too little to the powder? Sparks, pardon me, are cheap—cheap and abundant—the power of good citizenship is the most difficult thing to manufacture ever known.

I look with dread and fear, and with constantly increasing apprehensions to the double-headed idea; first, that an American citizen must surrender his power; second, that you can build any sort of machine that the devil cannot use and yet expect good results from it. If I was a political boss I would ask for nothing better than to be placed in a community where I might have the opportunity of dividing up men by the hundreds and get their names and three weeks to work on them before the election, according to the plan elaborated in one of the papers to-day. Take the

Australian ballot system; it was intended as a mechanical prevention of vote buying. It has resulted in the cheapest and safest system of buying votes ever devised. We understand that business in Chautauqua perhaps as well as anywhere in the country. Many of our people regard it as a very reputable method of increasing their income, or even cheating the devil into the Lord's service. It is said that a good minister some years ago wanted to build a church. He felt it necessary that the Lord should have a better temple in which to be worshipped by his people. The minister was approached by a candidate, who said to him: "If you will get your people to support me in the caucus I will give \$100 towards rebuilding the church, and if I am elected I will give \$100 more." Every man in that church voted for him, and they put him in nomination.

The old men of to-day as a rule are not capable of very much expansion in this direction. It hurts them and it shocks their ideas. Municipal betterment and the betterment of citizenship should be taught in the schools. Our colleges are turning out every year young men who know no more about the exercise of the power that is in them as citizens, the making it efficient for good, than a brood of hen's chickens know about swimming. We do teach them civics sometimes, but we are very careful not to teach them anything about civism—the exercise of the political power of the individual. The great value and truth of democratic government is that it cannot be worked out by any preconceived theory; but going on from day to day we meet the day's problems and do our duty by finding some solution for them. We do not follow out any cut and dried theory, but accomplish by our own devices what needs to be done. I think the most hopeful thing in this whole matter is that in no two cities do the same conditions prevail, or are the same remedies applied. When we have put into the minds of the American people better ideals of citizenship there will develop in our government that impulse toward betterment which will accomplish better results.

THE TOASTMASTER: It is interesting to know something of what is going on in politics in other cities besides Cleveland. Those of you who have been here to-day heard our friend tell how his friend did not succeed in a Southern city, yet his very name is suggestive of victory. I will call upon Charles J. Bonaparte, Esq., to speak upon "Politics in Baltimore."

MR. BONAPARTE: I decline to speak on the subject assigned me. I strongly suspect that I am discharging to some extent a duty which is said to be sometimes assigned by our Prohibitionist friends to one of the most zealous among them, *i. e.*, furnishing an awful example. It has been alleged that workers in the temperance cause keep on hand a supply of drunkards in order that they may exhibit the deep degradation to which a

man can fall; I half believe that Maryland politics and the experiences which I rehearse are made to serve the same purpose among us. Now, while I might be content to have them and myself used for anything that could give pleasure to the present audience, I cannot with a clear conscience encourage you to think how much better you are than those who live there; and, in so doing, I might further chill your enthusiasm in your own labors; might cause you to think that, since you had gained so much more than your less fortunate brethren, you were justified in taking a rest. Therefore, following the example which I am always happy to follow when I have an opportunity, that of our President, I will devote the very few minutes during which I shall trespass upon your attention to saying something which, perhaps, I shall not get an opportunity to say over yonder. It was suggested by one gentleman, to whose paper we listened with so much pleasure to-day, that the objects of our agitation, the objects pursued by all the various associations affiliated with this League, were two; first, to get the best possible form of municipal government established by law, then to get the best possible men to fill the places in that ideal government. I respectfully ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to reverse this programme; it seems to me to put the cart before the horse. Get the best men you can to administer the laws you now have and trust such men to make these laws better; in that way only will you bring order out of chaos. I will not say that it is of no importance to have good laws, because it is of great, although of subordinate, importance. But what practical good can you expect if you take the most carefully prepared programme for municipal betterment and entrust it for adoption to a legislature selected either by the Republican candidate who has just been depicted, or by the Tammany political ring, which needs no depicting? There is a great deal of what an orator of my town once called "cerebral perspiration" devoted to the plans of bringing about a political millennium, and yet we do but half our work when we secure good legislation; we have yet to get good laws enforced. We shall not accomplish our task until we have succeeded in inducing the whole better element of the community to come into the work in which we are engaged, and by the "better element" I do not mean merely "respectable citizens," but all the citizens of the community, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, provided only that they recognize an obligation of working to promote the right. Only when we have done this can we reasonably look forward to putting the results of all this labor into a manufactured form in the shape of better laws, ordinances and administrative methods for all our cities throughout the country. The means, the only means, of getting this product, is to induce the right kind of men to first fashion the weapons which they will afterwards use; and, while they

are trying to fashion these weapons, let them, in the meantime, use the best that may come to their hands.

THE TOASTMASTER: We have heard indirectly of politics in Baltimore, and the next topic to which we shall ask you to direct your attention is "Politics in Philadelphia," to which Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary of the National Municipal League and of the Philadelphia Municipal League, will respond.

MR. WOODRUFF: The speeches of those who have preceded me can hardly be said to have been responsive to their titles; and I presume if I get no nearer my topic than my predecessors did to theirs, that I will be included in the general amnesty which will, no doubt, be extended to all unfortunate enough—or shall I say fortunate enough?—to be drafted into service this evening.

I am told by experienced post-prandial talkers that the best way to begin a talk of this kind is by referring to some immediately preceding event or events with which your auditors may be familiar. Inasmuch as I have been trained to the legal profession and have been taught to follow precedents closely, I may be pardoned for beginning my few remarks, as I have others on similar occasions, by a reference to an impression made upon me by the remarks of my colleagues this evening. As I listened to their speeches I was reminded of a little jingle which Eugene Field has given us, which runs somewhat as follows:

"Father calls me William, sister calls me Will,
Mother calls me Willie, but the boys they call me Bill."

Irrespective of what he was called, he was the same boy all the way through; and so while we call the politician a Populist in Colorado, a Republican in Ohio or a Democrat in Maryland, he is the same politician all the way through and everywhere.

We must never forget in this fight for purer and better government, in which we who are here assembled are all engaged, that a politician is a politician first and a partisan afterwards. Politicians call themselves by the name of the dominant party of the community in which they happen to be for the time being. Were Mr. Croker a resident of Philadelphia he would, no doubt, be a Republican of the staunchest kind, and were Mr. Martin a resident of New York he would undoubtedly be a most ardent Democrat.

Bearing this fact in mind, we, who are banded together in an effort to introduce an era of good government into our American cities, must strive to create a public sentiment that will insist upon the settlement of munici-

pal questions upon the basis of business principles and public policy rather than upon any partisan basis. People have been fooled long enough and often enough with the partisan cry; the time has come when we should throw off the yoke of party ties, at least in municipal affairs.

I have been profoundly impressed with the rapid growth of municipal reform organizations and municipal reform sentiment in the United States. I hope the result of this unparalleled growth will be to frighten politicians into believing, and acting upon their belief, that we are on the threshold of a revolution that will only end when they have been driven from their citadels of power. I hope as they view the movement for good city government they will be like that mule, of which we are told, that belonged to a camp follower in Sherman's army. As is well known, Gen. Sherman in his famous march to the sea was followed by a great raft of men who were on the alert to take advantage of any favorable circumstance or condition that might fall in their way. They were not always as careful as they should be and one day as one of them was passing through a field of pop-corn he inadvertently threw aside, after lighting his pipe, a match, which set fire to the field of pop-corn, and in a few minutes the whole field became one mass of roasted pop-corn. The mule of another follower seeing this white field of pop-corn, thinking it was snow, froze to death. I hope the politicians, seeing these Good Government Clubs springing up all over the land, will think it a sign of the coming change and will voluntarily go out of business.

We have heard a great deal at the various sessions of this Conference about the corruption in Baltimore and New York City. I am not here to unduly boast of my own native city, but I am forced by the facts to say that if you want to find the very essence of corrupt politics, in all their perfection, you must come to Philadelphia. I suppose you have noticed, as I have, whenever a political machine or ring needs reorganizing those interested in the reorganization go to Philadelphia for "pointers," and they get them. It would take a volume, and a very large one, to depict the workings of what we in Philadelphia until recently called the Ward Combine, but more recently, because of its propensities, the "Hog Combine;" which is nothing more nor less than a political trust, managed by the leaders or bosses who are able to carry their wards.

Those interested in better government have not lost sight of the value of combination and co-operation which these masters in the art of practical politics have set before them; so we are attempting to organize in Philadelphia what may be called a good government machine. We realize that if we are going to rescue our city government from the hands of the selfish and corrupt men into which it has fallen, we must organize the good citi-

zens to oppose the bad citizens. This is what the Municipal League of Philadelphia is working to do. We want to put into every ward and precinct an earnest, progressive and determined band of citizens who will give to Philadelphia a little of their time and effort to redeem it. We follow quite closely the example set by our distinguished friends, the enemies. We bestow honors upon the man who can carry his ward and division in proportion to the magnitude of his work. For instance, Mr. Burnham, who is able to carry his ward, is President of the League; I, who can only carry my division, am Secretary. When I am able to carry my ward I may become a formidable candidate for the Presidency. Of one thing, however, we are all determined, and that is to carry our divisions and our wards for good city government, irrespective of any personal advantage which may accrue to us by reason of our activity in behalf of the cause.

Unfortunately, in Philadelphia, as elsewhere, the great mass of our people have for many years past been divided in municipal matters, as in state and national matters, over the tariff. All that has been needed in nine instances out of ten to elect a ward constable or councilman has been to appeal to the political and partisan prejudices of the voters. When a particularly bad candidate happened to be in danger of defeat, all that has been necessary was to raise the cry that the tariff was in danger, and all doubts as to his election from that time forward were dissipated.

Latterly we have made some inroads upon this partisan prejudice and we are looking forward in the near future to being able to divide the people of Philadelphia in municipal affairs upon municipal issues, believing that there should be national parties for national issues and municipal parties for municipal issues.

THE TOASTMASTER: Perhaps no city in the United States has gained so much experience in regard to this matter of civil government as the city of New York. We are now to hear from that city, and I have the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. R. W. G. Welling, of New York City.

MR. WELLING: We have heard much about the changes needed in our municipal charters and but little about the means most effective for organizing and wielding the influence of those still scattered reform elements that make only a small showing at the polls. And yet the admission has been freely and repeatedly made by the very preachers of charter reform that good men, if we could only elect them, are more important to us than good laws. Good men can give good results working with bad laws. Bad men will deny us good results even with good laws.

Not one single word have I heard about the means to be employed to

elect good men. This is all I have to say to you to-night, to urge you to make a business of organizing the reform elements in your cities. The business of enrolling or of organizing Good Government Clubs will fail like any other business if not placed on a business footing and run in a business-like way. In how many of our cities are paid agents to-day canvassing for members of such municipal reform organizations as already exist? How many of those organizations have well-paid secretaries? The City Club of New York pays its secretary \$5000 a year. The Good Government Clubs of that city were organized by a man of marked ability for that kind of work, who was paid at about the same rate. We do not leave our church missionary work to the mercy of the casual and busy traveler. We do not hope to set any new business enterprise upon its feet without the aid of well-paid officers and canvassers. We are a people of busy habits and of common sense ideas, and yet we hope to establish the vast machinery of a Municipal Reform Party by the occasional efforts of such of us as can give a moment here and there during the busy day to this great work.

The agents of the great national parties, firmly intrenched in office and their bread and butter depending on their success, will work night and day to keep from being ousted. Let us take counsel of our experience in other matters.

THE TOASTMASTER: The subject of the next toast is "Politics in Southern Cities," and will be responded to by the Hon. George W. Ochs, Mayor of Chattanooga, Tenn.

MR. OCHS: One of the speakers has enabled me to discover what is meant by a bi-partisan board. From what he says it is evident that it means a board that will be bye and bye partisan. In carefully listening to the addresses this evening and the papers read before the Conference, I find there is one thing which we of the North, South, East and West are a unit on, and that is the bad municipal government of our cities. There is the most enthusiastic harmony between sections on this subject. The effect of this gathering cannot be otherwise than good. I believe that the influence of the League will become so far-reaching that when our good friend Bonaparte returns to his storm centre of "municipal corruption" he may find even in his native city the ideal form of municipal government. We must not, however, lay too much stress upon legislative remedies or legal enactments. We may establish a framework of law, but unless we have the proper officials to execute them they become grievous elements of danger. We must closely watch the municipal environment and in

erecting our systems keep an eye as well upon those who will administer them, for

"Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
The devil always builds a chapel there;
And 'twill appear, upon examination,
The latter has the larger congregation."

Unless you secure the proper men to execute your laws you will find, I think, that the devil will in almost every instance get the largest congregation in the end.

I agree fully with our friend who has just presented a summary of the work of the New York clubs. We must get at this business in a practical and business-like way if we hope to accomplish anything.

I do not know that a Southern man can say anything to men in the "Western Reserve" about politics. Although we have more politics to the square inch than any other section of America—except the "Western Reserve"—with us it is all one way, and with you it is all the other way. If I were to dare to say here that all politicians in the South were good politicians and all municipal officials in my section were without reproach, you might say to me as the little boy did to the school trustee who asked the class "Why do you celebrate the 22d of February?" "Because it is Washington's birthday." "Well," asked the trustee, "why do you celebrate Washington's birthday and not mine?" The boy stammered and turned red, and finally faltered out, "Well, it is because he never told a lie." Were I to make any such statement I fear it would destroy all chances of having my birthday celebrated. I hail from the good old state of Tennessee, and I guess the history of that state in politics is well known to everyone here, having added a new chapter to the political history of this country in furnishing two governors at the same time.

We of the South have not been afflicted so much with municipal corruption as you of the North, supposably because our cities are smaller. It seems that the badness in municipal politics depends on the number of people that a place contains. That explains why New York is the worst, Chicago second and Philadelphia next, though from what our friend Bonaparte and our friend from Indianapolis say I believe that these cities are about to break the rule.

Jesting aside, I think I can truthfully say that the cities of the South on the whole are well governed. The people have insisted upon good government. They have as a rule selected the better class of citizens to administer their affairs, and you will find that the per capita expense of conducting the government of Southern cities compares favorably with the

other cities of America. I think the average will be found to be considerably less in the South.

This is indeed a sacred day. To-day in my city at the foot of Look-out Mountain, fringed by the Missionary Ridge battlefields, in sight of bloody Chickamauga, a spot crowned with the laurels won by chivalrous Americans, consecrated by the blood poured out by our citizens in defense of the principle as they conceived it, the blue and the gray have joined arm in arm in placing garlands upon the soldiers' graves. Within sight of my city there are two resting-places of the dead where sleep thousands of victims of a fratricidal war. The same blue vault of heaven overarches each; kissed by the same rays, wet by the same dews, the sighing winds singing over each the same sad requiem. In those beautiful spots fifteen thousand soldiers who wore the blue and seven thousand soldiers who wore the gray peacefully sleep until a higher one shall judge their acts. On this day the sons and daughters of those who lie thereabouts, lineal descendants of men of the North and of men of the South, have joined together and deposited their sweet memorials upon these tombs, brother Americans paying a tribute to the chivalry and patriotism of fellow Americans. This beautifully illustrates one phase of American patriotism; that loyalty to our traditions, to our history and to our achievements gives us hope for the future. If we can thus solve questions which divided two sections of our country, in such a sanguinary manner, so beautifully, so entirely and so successfully, I believe the great American people will yet happily and thoroughly solve the problem of the municipal government of our cities. I have faith in the American people, and though to-day we are using England as our prototype in municipal affairs, I believe before many years the English will turn to American cities for their prototypes.

I bear you greeting from the South. I believe you are all animated by the purest patriotism and loyalty. No selfish motive influences any of the workers in this grand movement of municipal reform. It is a work of love, of patriotism; a work that finds its beginning at the hearthstone, in our love of home and of country. You have gone into it with that zealous spirit of Americanism that knows no such word as "fail," and you must succeed. I bear you a message from the Southern cities of Godspeed in this work and a hope that it will gather greater strength and be better enabled to accomplish its mission. We know something of the difficulties and dangers which beset large municipalities. We believe that the time is rapidly approaching when in the South will be found many of the largest cities of America, and hence we are watching this work with unflagging and undiminished interest. It has so far proceeded in a most auspicious manner and has been managed with judgment and conservatism. The

reports received from Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, Buffalo, and from all the larger cities to-day and to-night show that the seed has been planted and is beginning to bear fruit, and in promoting and encouraging this work I feel that we are but discharging our highest duty as American citizens. I believe that the future of our country, the safety of our nation, the perpetuity of the institutions of this grand republic, lie in the successful and honest management of our larger cities. There is where political corruption first appears and its influence permeates all branches of government. You have, indeed, undertaken a work that is as broad as our country, that affects every principle and every institution that we hold most dear, and every true patriot must encourage by his voice and aid by his work the mighty task that has been undertaken.

THE TOASTMASTER: There is, perhaps, no way in which the efforts of this League are made so apparent as in the cleansing of a city; we will now have a lady talk to us on that subject. I have great pleasure in introducing Rev. Marion Murdoch.

MISS MURDOCH: There are many revelations now-a-days. This Municipal League is a revelation—a revelation of the moral power inherent in the people in the midst of suffering. It has been a real inspiration to hear the good words reported from the various cities. This is, indeed, a great moral reform. We may not call it by that name, but the highest art always conceals art. So with the art of morals. This phase of reform shows us how important it is to apply ethics to environment and physical conditions.

Among the many things which the League sets itself to accomplish is, I take it, that of securing better tenement houses. One of the most efficient helpers in this line of work in London is, as we all know, Miss Octavia Hill, a plain, elderly, little woman, of intense moral purpose. She was talking one day with Ruskin, that prince of philanthropists, and told him she thought she could improve certain very hopeless portions of London by building cottages to rent and having them kept clean and wholesome. "Why not do it at once?" was Ruskin's question. Ah! but the money was wanting. Ruskin said: "There is no difficulty there. You may have the money you want," and the cottages were built. Special attention was paid to drainage and the water supply, and all hygienic conditions. The venture was a financial success, although the rents were very low, and now many more such tenements have been built and the movement has grown to a remarkable degree.

This is indirectly a great aid to right municipal regulations in those quarters. I was informed by Miss Hill that the entire condition of these localities had changed. The city officials were held strictly to account for

any neglect of duty, and all sanitary regulations were carefully enforced. The state of the homes reacted upon the state of the streets. It is equally true also that the state of the street will react upon the homes. The city will stimulate cleanliness in the people if it is clean itself.

People are now so thoroughly aroused to this need of cleanliness that women are beginning to bring to bear upon it all their housekeeping instincts, and that time-honored weapon, the broom of cleanliness, is now happily to be wielded beyond the bounds of the door-step. It will brush down the city cob-webs and find its way into all the dark corners and alleys; for that rich annual experience in house cleaning from time immemorial has well qualified half the nation to give discomfort to the other half until all the floors of car and street sidewalks shall be thoroughly cleansed.

In the old Grecian days there were not only gods but goddesses of earth, and air and water. Tidings have come from New York, Chicago, Pittsburg and other cities that there are now modern goddesses presiding over air, and water and earth.

There are men and women to-day, as this meeting well attests, who realize that the city child has an inalienable right to life, liberty and fresh air; that no city has a right to poison its atmosphere or furnish impure water or food for the sustenance of its citizens. An examination was made some years ago of the condition of the air in various parts of the city of London. It was rather a depressing surprise to find that the lowest percentage of oxygen was not in any of the homes, or dens, or sweater shops of East London, but in one of the lawyers' offices more centrally located.

Now I have no expectation that municipal reform will reach to the legal profession, but I trust the League will stimulate among us all an ethics of the air, the out-door air, of course, that will prevent all smoke, or uncleanness, or impurity in this God-given element. The city has no right to permit impure air of any sort. This is purely an individual privilege. The League will demand also that the city furnish pure and untainted water as well as air. It will, we trust, be instrumental in bringing about the establishment of public baths. Every phase of public purity and cleanliness is within its province. Indeed, all corruption is uncleanness. The League has a great work before it, and the long-suffering people will wait eagerly for its further achievements.

THE TOASTMASTER: The last speaker of the evening is Rabbi Moses J. Gries, who will speak for Cleveland.

RABBI GRIES: I was informed this evening that I should be a substitute for, and take the place of, the well-known and popular James H. Hoyt, Esq., of our city. Mr. Hoyt has just passed through the expe-

rience of being a martyr upon the altar of political ambition; and in his stead I am offered as the sacrifice.

It seems to me, from the words which I have heard from the lips of the various persons representing different cities in our country, and speaking of the present municipal conditions in their own cities, that it is true, as Mr. Bonaparte has said, that as the workers in the temperance cause like to have at their command for exhibition some full-fledged drunkards, in order that the iniquity of intemperance may be exhibited in all its horrors, so political reformers have their exhibits in evidence, to be able to illustrate the "awful example." The tendency of the speakers to-night has been for each to make his city the "awful example;" and Baltimore, when it shows its height or depth of evil, is at once put in rivalry with Philadelphia. We are told Philadelphia has the most corrupt political machine, and that it is there where the politicians from other cities go for points. Another speaker did not wish to be outdone, so he takes us to a small country town and gives us full information concerning the evils of his place. Cleveland has not been backward in this direction. As I looked over the programme of the week, I did not notice any person representing our own municipality announced to give a vivid picture in all its details of the evils of our own community. But at the last moment that task has been delegated to me, a humble minister; one of that class who never know anything about the world; who, as it is supposed, live in their studies, oblivious to the outside world. We are inclined to assume that politics are corrupt. We judge from the past, and thus draw our conclusions. I think it was Bacon who said that the past is the best prophet of the future. One might believe that the future would be nothing but clouds, and gloom, and darkness; that we might temporize but not solve the problem. While we ministers are regarded as dreamers or theorists, we always look to the hopeful side of things. I may not have the years nor the practical experience of the world; in fact I feel to-night like a pigmy standing upon the shoulder of a giant, and from my position I can see further than the giant himself. We are pigmies standing on the shoulders of our past experience, looking into the future, and we see there, not darkness nor gloom, but some rays of sunshine and brightness. I am not a practical student of political economy; I would not advise any one here present concerning the right method. But from what I have seen and heard and read, I know that in the city of Cleveland, at least—whatever may be true in other communities—we do not need more Democrats and we do not need more Republicans. What we do need is more devotion to duty. We need to create a municipal issue which shall create a sentiment in this community for better municipal government. In this movement

there need not be arrayed on one hand those who call themselves Republicans and on the other hand those calling themselves Democrats, but the good, sensible, reasonable, moral portion of the community as against the selfish and corrupt. I believe that when in this country there shall arise that spirit, then there will be enthusiasm and intelligence concerning the needs of the community, and then we can array the moral element against the corrupt, and the moral element will prevail. This I believe to be the final solution. How long it will be coming no one here can tell. But it is our duty as patriots and as persons who call themselves citizens of this great republic to begin the work here and now ; to do that particular thing which we can do, and not look at the great task and say it is impossible, or rest content and do nothing. I am very glad to-night that, although I was not one of the originally selected representatives of Cleveland, I was still permitted to speak, because I represent the Jewish community of this city. But when we come to the question of city government or good citizenship, and talk concerning patriotism and loyalty, we do not speak of the patriotism, or loyalty, or good citizenship of any one portion or sect ; we speak concerning citizens who labor for the good of the whole community, in unity of spirit, non-partisan and non-sectarian.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE
PAPERS READ BEFORE THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT.

PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL ADDRESS.

JAMES C. CARTER, NEW YORK.

The third of the General Conferences of the Municipal League of the United States opens under most encouraging auspices. Any doubt which may have been felt at the beginning whether sufficient interest could be aroused to make these gatherings possible and useful has vanished. Any question whether they could be made the means of instituting or stimulating movements for municipal reform in our principal cities has been affirmatively answered. Patriotic and influential minds throughout our land are considering, as they have never before considered, the great problem of municipal government. Great masses of citizens are in many of our largest cities uniting, as they have never united before, in political action for the purpose of purifying and improving municipal administration. The habits of tacit acquiescence in the dominion of partisan chieftains and partisan machinery are beginning to yield to independent thought and action. In some instances imposing results have already been achieved. Large populations are becoming conscious of the possession of a power for organized action upon the simple basis of citizenship which almost astonishes themselves. Successful efforts in particular communities are propagating, as if by contagion, similar efforts in others. In short, the whole problem of municipal improvement is undergoing a process of development; its elements, its difficulties and the ways by which they may be surmounted are becoming better understood; and the public conviction is rapidly proceeding to manifest itself in the form of an extensive, determined and imposing movement.

The occasion is not unsuitable for a restatement of the reasons which originally brought us together, and of the objects and purposes for which our League was formed and continues

to be maintained. We must never tire of repeating these, for it is our best method of arresting the public attention, and of stimulating that reflection which will end in conviction and thus enlarge our numbers and our power.

We are not mere theorists assembled to speculate concerning the abstract principles upon which municipal or other government is founded, and to gather together a consistent body of scientific truth. Nor are we perfectionists who forget that human government always has and probably always will exhibit corruptions and abuses in multiplied forms, and who dream of bringing about ideally perfect conditions through the instrumentality of mere men, who are extremely imperfect at the best. We admit, indeed, that a knowledge of some plain principles of government and of human nature are quite useful and even essential in the effort to bring about better municipal administration, and we do not think that this philosophy is best acquired from those learned professors who study and teach in the schools of the saloon or the lobby. We do not doubt that it is practically impossible to have in any particular city a municipal government superior in character to the general standards of morality and honesty prevailing among its citizens, and should be well satisfied if our local governments came up to such standards. We aim only to form a sober and reasonable estimate of what in the present condition of human nature is possible, and to employ the natural and proper means to carry that estimate into effect.

It is unnecessary to narrate those facts in the condition and experiences of our municipal governments which have suggested, or, rather, compelled the various associations in different cities which are represented here to-day. They are too familiar to ourselves and to the whole country. They are the natural and necessary results of the universal degradation into which municipal government has, in all our large cities, fallen. They present and illustrate every form of public mischief and disgrace, the profligate and useless expenditure of the public revenues exacted by taxation, the employment and support in

the public service of the vicious, incompetent and useless; the enrichment of fraudulent contractors, the shameful neglect of duty by public officers, shabbiness and uncleanness in streets, public places and buildings; corrupt alliances between the public agencies for the punishment and suppression of crime and the criminals themselves; blackmailing tributes of money shamelessly demanded as the price of betraying public duty and disgracefully paid; the laws enforced with brutal severity against those who resist the exactions, and the unscrupulous offenders left unpunished.

Nor are these evils limited in their operations and results to the municipalities in which they originate. The political power, organized and consolidated to control the municipal revenues and governments, is found effectively available in gaining the control of state and national politics. It becomes the predominating power in the state legislatures. All the legislation which it controls must be paid for either in money or other corrupt price. Its favor and support are made the easy passport to power and place. The unscrupulous rich man buys it in order to clothe himself with the outward habiliments of public honor and distinction. Even the higher and nobler ambitions delude themselves with the notion that they must court it, or not offend it, in order to gain that opportunity for useful service of which they feel themselves to be capable. The support of corrupt chieftains, whose sole purpose and function are to combine and consolidate the political power of the ignorant, idle and vicious classes, is shamefully purchased by social hospitalities and marks of respect which tend to give them character and shield them from public disapproval and disgrace, and by promises, kept more sacredly than public engagements, to award them place and power.

I do not mean to intimate that there are no lighter colors in this dismal picture. Were this true there would be no room for anything but despair. But I am glad to be able to say that, notwithstanding the evils and the demoralization, which I have not too darkly painted, the native sense of honesty and fidelity

which all men feel in greater or less degree, still saves us from absolute ruin. Many worthy depositaries of public trusts are still found in the administration of public office who struggle heroically in the face of discouraging obstacles to perform their whole duty. Many more there are who, while from mere ignorance and evil associations they have suffered their standards to be lowered, yet retain some moral standards and are true to them. Most fortunately the possession itself of official power and the assumption of official responsibility naturally tend to arouse the sense of duty and are seldom wholly ineffectual. Moreover, there are, I am glad to say, many worthy and generous men who have been led, sometimes by misfortune in other business, sometimes by the love of political contention, sometimes also by natural public spirit, to seek their support in office and the spoils of office, who retain ambitions and capacities for good which greatly help to save us from a deeper degradation; men who, did not their necessities push them into the sanction and the practice of unworthy methods, would be useful and honored citizens, and worthy of power and place.

But the most effective of the agencies which still secure such measure of municipal peace, order and comfort as we yet enjoy—or rather as is yet vouchsafed to us—is the feeling—the conviction in the breasts of our municipal spoilsmen—that there is in public opinion a *point of endurance* which they must not transcend. They instinctively feel that there is over them a master, careless, neglectful, indolent indeed, but yet capable of being roused into action, and whose rod, when it does descend, is full of unsparing punishment. It would be entirely true to say that the present standards of the performance of our municipal service, even by the wretched crews who now have charge of it, move up and down in responsive conformity to the indications of activity or inactivity which this acknowledged and dreaded master, public opinion, from time to time exhibits. How strange it is that good men should ever doubt or disagree as to the efficiency of the power they possess, and may easily employ, for the correction of public abuses, when bad men so plainly and fully acknowledge it.

The discreditable, demoralized and demoralizing condition of municipal administration throughout our country, which I have thus briefly sketched, is the cause and the occasion for the forming of the associations which are represented here to-day. We come together because we believe that a radical improvement is necessary and possible. Our associations represent every variety of organization and effort. Some of them look to a mere awakening in our municipal communities of an interest in the matter of their local government by the discovery and exposure of abuses, and by pointing out the benefits of improved administration; others to a cultivation of the study of municipal problems and the diffusion of more correct knowledge in relation to them; others to the forming of closer relations between municipal officers and the people, with the view of aiding and encouraging such officers in a better discharge of their duties; others to the framing and enactment of supposed better laws and ordinances for the government of cities; others to a jealous watch over the conduct of municipal officers, with a view to legal or other measures to punish violations of duty; others to the stimulating of influential politicians to make or procure better nominations for municipal offices, to investigate the merits of candidates and make recommendations to voters; others to induce citizens to take an increased interest in the primary meetings of political parties, and thus exercise a more efficient control over nominations; and others are laboring for the creation of distinct organizations, embracing the masses of the voters, for the direct purpose of nominating and electing their own candidates.

To some this diversity, not to say confusion, of effort, may seem disheartening, but to me it is a sign most auspicious of ultimate success. It indicates, indeed, the novelty and the difficulty of the problem, but it proves also the spontaneity, the universality and the strength of the impulse. It shows that the movement is not one having its origin at some central point, and seeking to propagate and extend itself by transplanting, but that it has arisen spontaneously all over the land and has every-

where taken independent root. Intertwining itself everywhere with the social forces, shaping and animating more and more our American life and action, seeking everywhere for means by which its ends may be reached, it will ultimately discover and adopt the *true* methods for its development, and then, attracting more and more to its support the mighty forces of public opinion, it will trample down all obstacles in its resistless march. Whatever different names we may bear, whatever different forms we may exhibit, whatever different paths we may be following, our ultimate end is absolutely the same; and in that unity of spirit and purpose we now greet and congratulate each other.

I have said at some time, sooner or later, our movement would discover its true method of development and action; but those words *sooner or later* have a prodigious import. They suggest that the movement is to be subjected to a variety of unknown vicissitudes which may long postpone its ultimate success; that an enormous amount of valuable labor may be thrown away and wasted; that successive defeats may come as the consequence of misapplied effort; that discouragement may follow, and cessation of effort, involving long periods of inactivity until new recruits can be enlisted. In short, that it may be a question whether we or our children shall first enjoy the fruits of victory. We expect such disappointments and defeats. If they should not happen ours would be the first instance of the kind in human history; but the prospect of them, or the probability of them, does not in any manner affect our duty, and should not affect our action, except to make it deliberate, well considered and resolute. We know, however, beforehand that any such disappointments will be owing to errors and mistakes in point of method of action, which might, perhaps, have been avoided by greater wisdom in the beginning, and it behooves us, therefore, to give our first attention to a study of the right line of action. I do not mean that it is necessary, or even expedient, that we should *now* determine what that line of action is. We may not yet know how to determine it. Some indiscriminate actual trial of various inexpensive methods, involving some loss

of labor, may be the best means of instruction. But I do mean that we should give our first and most earnest study to the question what the best method is. It is possible that a searching examination of the nature of the work we have undertaken, a scrutiny into all the conditions which affect it and a resort to the instruction which actual experience already affords us, may now point out to us the true course of proceeding, or, at least, save us from errors which otherwise we may be apt to fall into. The consideration of *methods* is, therefore, as I think, the principal subject which should now engage our attention, and it is my design to make, in this direction, by a brief, but careful, discussion, such contribution to our common cause as may be in my power.

In any effort to cure evils, whether physical, moral or political, it is first necessary to have a true diagnosis of the disease. It is this which indicates the proper remedy, and I think the real fault, both of those who think our disease incurable, as many do, and those who would employ ineffective medicines, consists in their misconception of the real nature of the malady. We know what the symptoms are. I have already briefly sketched them, and they are familiar to all of us. Some looking at the inveterate nature of the mischief and its universality in our country, the vast number of ignorant and vicious voters and the corresponding number of ignorant and vicious office holders, and not being very much inclined to take labor upon themselves, shortly attribute the trouble to the essentially depraved nature of man, and say there is no help for it. In a certain sense this is true. If all men were perfectly good we should not have these disorders in government; for we should have no government, there being, in that case, no need of any. Nor should we have any other sin or evil. Government is an affair which assumes the existence of this human imperfection and undertakes to counteract some of its tendencies and effects. Its very efficiency requires and supposes the existence of human depravity, and it would be extremely illogical to impute the imperfection of the remedy to the existence of the disease. We might as well assign the presence of disease as the cause of any proved

inefficiency of physicians. Again, the depravity of human nature infects all other human institutions in the same way as in the case of government; but those institutions, nevertheless, in general perform their functions in a satisfactory manner. Moreover, were this diagnosis the true one, municipal government in all times and in all countries would be in the same wretched condition, which we know is not the fact, there being many instances in the cities of various nations in which the municipal administration is admirable.

We can, therefore, take one step very surely and say that municipal maladministration is a peculiar political malady affecting municipal *governments*, and not elsewhere found, and affecting some only of *them*. Of course I do not mean that any such governments are perfect; but only that when they perform their functions with that reasonable efficiency which other well-ordered human institutions exhibit they are not in that condition properly described as diseased.

Another class of observers, while not imputing our disorders to the fall of Adam and the consequent sinfulness of human nature, are yet inclined to the notion that there is a certain degeneracy in our modern life; that there has been a lowering of the standard of public and private virtue; that men are, more than formerly, devoted to the selfish pursuit of wealth, luxury and pleasure; that they are not disposed to exhibit the spirit of self-sacrifice to the same extent as former generations have displayed it; and, consequently, that there is little chance for improvement until there shall come a revival of moral life and moral standards.

I believe this to be an error. Undoubtedly there are many circumstances which give color to the notion. The recent prodigious increase of wealth, the vast accumulations by single individuals, often gained by dishonest or questionable practices, the pursuit of frivolous pleasures, the display of luxury, the indifference of many men of wealth to the public welfare, the decline of severe religious habits, the purchase by the unworthy of places of trust and honor for which they are unfit, are spectacles

which suggest moral degeneration. But, at the same time, if we look at other social aspects, the evidences of moral strength and improvement in recent times are not less manifest. Never has there been a devotion so widespread and unselfish among scientific and intellectual men to the advancement and diffusion of knowledge; never have the charitable dispositions throughout the masses of society exhibited such activity, intelligence and munificence; and in spite of all maladministration, the public provision for the comfort, cleanliness and order of our cities has sensibly increased. Unfortunately for us this improvement is shown in much higher degree in foreign cities than in our own; but it is not for this reason less significant as a disproof of any alleged moral degeneracy. And if we look to the actual administration of national governments we find that, notwithstanding exceptional instances of legislative shortcomings, they are in general more pure and more efficient than in former times. Indeed, this notion of modern degeneracy does not so much proceed from any actual present inferiority of municipal administration as compared with that of former times, but from the elevation of the standard of requirement and the comparison between that and the existing condition. This advance of the standard is, of itself, a disproof of any assertion of degeneracy. I do not think, therefore, that there is any foundation for the discouraging belief that the true cause of the evils of which we complain is to be found in any special moral deterioration among civilized men.

Still another class of observers, more cautious and scrutinizing, discern as the source of our disorders special circumstances affecting modern society generally, but our own in a very high degree, and which make the task of municipal government greatly more difficult than formerly. The circumstances to which they point are principally these: (1). The crowding of modern cities with great populations of the working classes, separated from the others in local residence, and morally separated by distinctions of wealth, nationality, religion and habit, and containing large proportions of ignorant foreigners of all

nationalities. (2). The enormous revenues collected and disbursed for municipal expenses. (3). The wide extension of popular suffrage.

These circumstances particularly characterizing our modern municipal life, when added to another, which does not, indeed, distinguish our age and country more than others, the presence of a large number of unscrupulous and dishonest men, able to turn them to their personal advantage, furnish, in the view of this class of observers, the true explanation of the presence of the ills under which we suffer.

It seems to me that we find here a near approach to the truth; not, indeed, that these circumstances constitute the real malady which we are seeking to discover, for they are not, either separately or together, in any sense a disease, but the regular natural and necessary features in the development and progress of civilization. They are facts which cannot be displaced, prevented or essentially modified. They are the unalterable conditions with which we have to deal. They are not the disease itself, but the sources or causes of it—that is to say, they are the conditions which give rise to the mischiefs of local misgovernment and aggravate them.

It is, of course, in a general way, obvious to every one that these conditions make the task of municipal government extremely difficult; but we should have a clear understanding of the precise method in which they operate and become effective for misgovernment. And, first, let us look for a moment at the magnitude of the pecuniary temptation which is offered. The amount of revenue now raised by annual taxation for the support of the local government of New York City exceeds the sum of thirty millions of dollars; and the aggregate of the revenues raised for local governmental purposes in the United States has been computed at a sum substantially equal to the annual expenditure for the national government, or about five hundred millions. The temptations to gain the mere control and disposition of money are, of course, proportionate, substantially, to the opportunities for the dishonest application of them. If there

were no power or opportunity to make use of the control of this vast sum for dishonest purposes, if those to whose charge it was confided were in some manner effectually obliged for a merely reasonable salary to dispose of it exclusively for the public purposes for which it was raised, there would be no more temptation to gain the control of it than is ordinarily afforded by any private employment for the same wages or salary. But if it can be misspent and misapplied, devoted to selfish purposes and personal enrichment, without open punishment and without the personal disgrace which attaches to known and notorious thieves, the temptation to gain the control of it becomes, by reason of the magnitude of the fund, the most powerful incentive which can be offered to vicious and unscrupulous minds. It can easily be thus misspent and misapplied, and for the most part with impunity. The public safeguards against the misuse of its moneys are necessarily far inferior to those of individuals. And inasmuch as even these safeguards may be controlled by the same power which gains control of the treasury, they may be reduced to practical nullity and the fear of detection furnishes none of its restraints.

But how can dishonest men gain control of the public moneys? They cannot, of course, avow their true character and purposes and ask for it upon those grounds; for no community has as yet reached or even approached that degree of degradation which would furnish a response to such an appeal. Nor can they pretend that they are the ones best qualified and most likely to administer the revenues honestly. Their entire want of such character would make the pretence ludicrous and ineffectual. What they need is *some plausible and attractive disguise* by which they may deceive the public and divert attention from their true character, and under cover of which they may reach the object of their desire; and without this they are powerless. We now perceive that the statement and enumeration of sources of our municipal misgovernment made, as just mentioned, by an intelligent and scrutinizing class of observers, is incomplete. Something yet is needed not contained in that

enumeration. Here is the enormous fund which affords the temptation; here are the dishonest men ready to embrace it, and easily able to combine with each other in an effort to gain the control of it; here are these vast numbers of ignorant men, all armed with the suffrage, and massed together in small areas, furnishing a power which, if consolidated by organization, would be sufficient to win the prize. But these things of themselves are as nothing unless some attractive, convenient and appropriate *disguise* is furnished to the unscrupulous longers for the plunder which will *conceal* the attack, divert the public attention from their real character and purposes and permit them to prosecute their plans in secrecy.

This convenient disguise, and one in every way perfectly adapted to the purpose, is found in our system of political parties. These are necessary, or at all events inevitable in every free nation. They are the only means by which the predominating opinion upon the great questions of State and national policy may be carried into effect in legislation and in administration. The contests which they incite are, indeed, often carried on by reprehensible means, with low motives, and in a blameworthy spirit; but they are, notwithstanding, the schools of patriotism and the nurseries of noble ambitions. The evil and mischievous temptation always before them is to magnify the immediate importance of their objects and thus to favor the employment of unscrupulous and forbidden means.

It so happens that these political parties furnish the precise conditions necessary to the success of the dishonest seekers for municipal spoils. Being rivals with each other in the effort to gain the political support of the ignorant masses, they are willing to turn over all the municipal spoils to any manipulators who will divert that support from their adversaries to themselves. They divide and thus neutralize the masses of intelligent and honest voters, and leave the contest for the possession of municipal power with all its revenues to the dishonest manipulators, who are in like manner divided, and one faction of whom will gain the prize in any event. The whole situation is exactly

suited to the end of putting the vicious and unscrupulous who dislike the honest callings of life into the struggle for the public revenue; and all they have to do is to array themselves on the one side or the other of general politics, according to their view of the prospect of success.

The peculiar fitness of the disguise thus furnished to the dishonest seekers for municipal spoils is displayed in several distinct ways. In the first place, as a *disguise* it is perfect. Those who wear it are enabled to prosecute their schemes side by side with the best of their fellow citizens, with the banner of patriotism over their heads and its watchwords in their mouths. It is difficult to discover, and there is little disposition to discover, their motives or their objects. In the next place they are protected with an army of defenders and vindicators. According as they make themselves efficient, they are lauded as patriots and men of ability. The great ambitions seek their power and must of necessity become their friends. They are invited to great men's feasts and awarded places of honor in the party councils; and if they make themselves amenable to the law, the ministers of the law are induced to extend to them exemption.

The alliances thus made between the national parties and the municipal exploiters of votes are in their inception, motive and operation necessarily corrupt and almost without limit. They cannot be carried on in any manner which admits of publicity, and they therefore require the intervention of that peculiar personage known in machine politics as the *boss*. All forms of lying, fraud and deception are committed without shame in prosecuting them, the practice of one virtue only being requisite, that which is known as "honor among thieves." A certain measure of good faith must be kept with each other, of course, otherwise the game could not be played. Under this system the municipal machine must have awarded to it the entire control of the municipal government, with all its revenues. The *trust* upon which this vast power is thus committed to them is to make that government and its revenues productive of votes to the party, and the understood reward is that after the party has

been served, or while it is being served, the manipulators of the machine may employ the power for their personal and private enrichment or advantage. The consequences are inevitable and such as we everywhere, where the system is fully developed, observe. Every office is disposed of to such person as will make himself most efficient in "getting out the vote" at elections. Every officer and employee, down to the janitor and street sweeper, must swear allegiance to the central power. The price paid for this fidelity is permission to betray duty, to receive wages and salary for something not done. Votes manufactured are as good as votes actually cast, and to facilitate the manufacture the machinery of elections is placed under the control of those who will not hesitate to prostitute it. At the same time the power thus gained is exploited for the private enrichment of those who hold it. Fraudulent contracts are made for public works and supplies and the profits divided between the officials and the contractor. Crimes are allowed to go unpunished upon the payment of money or its equivalent. Indulgences are sold. Wherever the certificate of a public officer is required money facilitates it. The honest and well-disposed are obliged to pay for peace and comfort. In short, the qualifications of all officials, instead of being capacity and fitness for the performance of their public duties, are the capacity and willingness to neglect and betray them.

Some may say that this picture is too darkly painted, that we do yet have a certain degree of efficiency in our municipal governments, that the fair external appearance of our cities itself shows that there is no such measure of corruption and maladministration as I have described. All this I have already admitted; but how much of efficiency and performance of duty do we find in our large cities where this corrupt alliance between the national parties and the local bosses is in full operation? Just as much as is necessary to prevent a violent rebellion against party by a general popular uprising. What I have been describing is the nature and tendencies of this corrupt alliance, and its actual operation and results as seen in all our large cities,

always to a most mischievous and alarming extent, and often to a degree in comparison with which my description is feeble indeed. Who can question for a moment that, in general, in our large cities the qualifications actually required for administrative office are *never* competency and honesty, but an active connection with the agencies for procuring votes, and a known willingness to betray a public trust in order to procure them? And if this be true, how can the results be other than such as I have described?

I think we have now reached the end of our search for the real disease from which our municipal governments are suffering. It is the *alliance* between the national political parties and the corrupt manipulators of the ignorant, the unthinking and the vicious multitudes who crowd our cities. It is this scheme to furnish those manipulators with the *disguise*, the *symbols* and the *protection* of the great party organizations to the end that they may exploit the ignorant or purchasable vote in the interest of those great organizations.

Many may think that I have wasted much valuable time and a multitude of words in order to reach a truth familiar at the start to every intelligent observer. I agree that it is, indeed, very plain and palpable, but is it so familiar and so universally accepted? I do not think so. If it were thus plain and familiar it would have more effect upon the political action of good citizens. They would see more clearly that this political alliance must be broken up and would be more ready to unite in a common effort in that direction. The trouble is that most men confound in their minds the disease with the circumstances which gave rise to it and aggravate it. They think that our disorders come from the ignorant and vicious populations which crowd our cities and the other incidents which I have already enumerated, and that this corrupt alliance is one of those incidents, and as necessary and inevitable as any of the others, and they have, consequently, little or no faith in any remedial project.

Here is, as I think, a radical error in the public mind which

must be corrected. The presence in our cities of the ignorant and unthinking multitudes of different nationalities is *not* a disease, but an incident of that development of industrial society which is, all over the civilized world, rapidly changing the majority of the population from a rural to an urban character. It is necessary and inevitable. The enormous revenues required to maintain government in cities is not a disease, but a necessary incident to the growth of their populations. The fact of universal suffrage is not a disease, but the extreme development and application of the principle of democratic government, which, even though it were considered a political error in municipal administration, has nothing in the nature of a disease about it, however much it may increase the difficulty of the work of improvement. Neither of these facts would result in our present disorders if the *corrupt alliance* did not exist. That it will be extremely difficult under these circumstances to prevent such alliance, is undoubtedly true; but this is only to say what we are painfully conscious of, and furnishes no reason why we should not undertake the task with all our might.

These views do not depend for their support upon theoretical reasoning, but are fully confirmed by actual experience. The great cities of Europe present the same or similar conditions. The same growth, crowding and segregation of ignorant and unreflecting populations, the same increase of the municipal revenues, and a similar, though not the same, extension of the suffrage; and yet nearly everywhere there has been going on simultaneously with these conditions a prodigious improvement in municipal administration. Nowhere is this improvement more manifest than in the great cities of England and Scotland, where the conditions most nearly resemble those which obtain in this country. But the circumstance everywhere wanting in those cities is the corrupt alliance between the national parties and organized bands of corrupt manipulators of the voting power. It is, I think, impossible not to attribute the difference observable between those cities and our own, so discreditable to us, to the effect of this alliance.

Actual experience in our own country furnishes similar confirmation. Whenever our municipal disorders pass the point of endurance and compel an effort for improvement among the well-disposed and public-spirited citizens, they feel instinctively the real nature of the disease and aim their attack directly against this corrupt alliance. Wherever they break it down, as they sometimes do, improvement follows, temporary and partial, indeed, but only because the efforts are fitful and temporary. And the same thing is proved by the fact that when the efforts are otherwise directed not even temporary benefits are obtained.

The recent experience of the city of New York, which has so universally engaged the public attention, is full of similar proof. The organized conspiracy known as Tammany Hall represented the alliance between the Democratic party and the corrupt manipulators of the voting power. Operating under the disguise of that party the latter had succeeded in obtaining absolute control of the municipal revenues and patronage, and their administration of both was shaped and directed with shameless audacity to perpetuate their corrupt rule. It would be going far to say that the public good was even a secondary object. The gathering and swelling mischiefs and corruptions proceeding from this condition and demoralizing every branch of the administration, finally passed the point of endurance, and public hostility broke out against it in many different quarters. In 1894 the elements of discontent were, after much effort, united for the purpose of conducting a campaign for the municipal election in November of that year. The platform upon which this union was effected affirmed absolute non-partisanship in municipal affairs as the bond of union between all the coalescing elements. The Republican political machine, although representing the alliance between the general party and the local manipulators, and thoroughly dominated by the motives which always govern these alliances, had not, in consequence of its exclusion from the actual enjoyment of the spoils it coveted, reached the depth of degradation and turpitude to which its Tammany rival had descended, and embraced among its influ-

ent members many worthy citizens distinctly hostile to corrupt methods. This organization insisted, not without plausibility, that the nomination of a Republican candidate for mayor would best contribute to success. The suggestion was adopted and an active member of that party, of the highest character for integrity and fidelity, was nominated. He accepted entirely the non-partisan principle of the platform. His party organization accepted it without qualification. Both were equally pledged to its support. The result was overwhelmingly successful. The usual Tammany majority of upwards of 60,000 was reversed by an adverse majority nearly as large.

The new mayor entering upon the discharge of his duties proceeded to act in pursuance of the public pledges he had given. He appointed to important offices some excellent men, whose qualifications were the capacity and the disposition to perform their duties. He was greatly pressed to give places to members of his own party who had but slight qualifications of this character, and who would probably act in accordance with the common motives and methods of political manipulators. He was not disposed to comply with these demands, and there immediately arose against him on the part of the spoils-seekers of his own party a storm of condemnation and abuse, asserting that he had betrayed them! The spectacle was an illustration, absolutely comical in its completeness, of the corrupt alliance which I am constantly mentioning, and of the extent to which it confounds all moral distinctions. The Republican spoilsmen who had labored to procure the nomination of Mr. Strong on a non-partisan platform, who had accepted that platform themselves with enthusiasm, denounced his obedience to his public pledges as treason to themselves. They could not believe that the real understanding upon which Mr. Strong had accepted a nomination which they had united in tendering, was anything other than the usual one that honest people should be deceived and the actual control of the public patronage placed in their hands. As a distinguished Republican aptly declared at a public meeting: "As long as they thought Mr. Strong was *lying* their

mouths were full of praise; but when they found that he really *meant what he said* nothing could restrain their rage and chagrin." The sincerity and earnestness of these critics were worthy of a better cause. They were filled with the idea that this notion that the pledges of candidates for public office were made for any other purpose than to be broken was a dangerous heresy which could not be too quickly stamped out.

I should have been glad not to be obliged to add that the pressure upon Mayor Strong of the corrupt alliance had not in any degree succeeded, but he has seemed not wholly free from the notion that non-partisanship means a fair and just division of offices between the rival factions and has, in some instances, given important places to men who are open advocates of the policy of using municipal patronage to build up the fortunes of the parties to which they belong. Of course, so far as he has yielded to this pressure the result has been a simple transfer of municipal administration from one set of spoilsmen to another, differing only in the color of their disguise, and, perhaps, in the degree in which they will prostitute the public revenues and patronage. How difficult it is for the best of men to follow the straight pathway of duty when they feel that they have given to unworthy supporters any ground for *expectations* of favor!

I have referred to recent political events in the city of New York for several purposes of illustration; *first*, to show that the alliance between partisans and the corrupt purveyors of the voting power is the real municipal malady of which we are in search; this is what all earnest men when they unite for municipal improvement naturally, and as if instinctively, select as the true point of attack; *second*, to show that in any effort against this alliance, all bargains with it, or indulgences towards it, or temporizing with it are essentially inexpedient as necessarily involving a retention of its mischiefs exactly proportioned to the extent of the indulgence shown; and *third*, to show that actual efforts for improvement will be successful precisely in proportion as this alliance is discarded and broken up. We have in the city of New York one department of administration

in which this alliance is avoided with relentless hate. This is that of street cleaning, and the result is a daily lesson and illustration to the whole people. The aspect of the city has in a few months been revolutionized. The streets are cleaned to the delight of all well-disposed citizens. Another department, that of the police, now promises to afford another illustration. A new board under the leadership of a courageous and resolute man, familiar to all of us, Theodore Roosevelt, who knows what public affairs lie within the just jurisdiction of State and national parties, and what do not, has begun to reinspire that branch of the municipal service with the spirit which ought to pervade it, and the beneficial results are already beginning to appear.

My last piece of evidence, drawn from actual experience, that the corrupt alliance is the real disorder of our municipal systems, is that afforded by the cities of England and Scotland. Mr. Albert Shaw in his recent volume, which ought to be in the hands of every municipal reformer, has made a large and most valuable contribution to our knowledge upon all the questions which engage our present attention and he furnishes confirmation of the view I am seeking to impress; which I must not neglect. The condition of municipal administration in those cities prior to the passage, some sixty years ago, of what is known as the Reform Bill, was wretched enough; but at that period the populations were far smaller, cities did not play such an important part in the affairs of the English nation as at present, and municipal evils were, therefore, of less magnitude. Whatever they were, they proceeded, not from the abuses of democratic methods, for England was at that time under an aristocratic rule, but from the selfishness and neglect which are the usual sources of local mischiefs under that rule. The actual inhabitants of the cities, those chiefly interested in their condition, had but a feeble and imperfect control over their affairs. The great extensions of the right of suffrage made by the Reform Bill and subsequent enactments, together with many successive provisions for better municipal government made, *pari*

passu, by Parliament, had the effect, many years ago, of throwing the government of cities into the hands of their own citizens. The municipal spirit received a new birth, as it were, from these political changes and has ever since been applying itself to the amelioration of all municipal conditions. The consequence has been a vast and universal improvement, which is still rapidly going on. It is impossible to follow the steps of this improvement without gratification, or without encouragement for the belief that similar results may be everywhere achieved by free, enlightened and enterprising populations; but at the same time an American can hardly contemplate them without mortification. We have fondly imagined that in the effort to improve the conditions of men our great republic was at the head; but this feeling meets with a rude shock at any comparison of our municipal administrations with those of the mother country. But I am now concerned only with the reason for this difference, and that is not far to seek. The English people are, and have been during the last fifty years, divided by national parties as hostile and energetic as our own; but the corrupt alliance between these parties and the manipulators and purveyors of the voting power in cities is nowhere found in any appreciable degree. The municipal revenues and patronage are nowhere worked for the purpose of securing votes for the rival parties. Of the causes of this I shall have something to say before I conclude, but we can hardly doubt that the true reason why we lag behind in the march of improvement is that we are suffering with a malady and laboring against an obstacle from which they are exempt.

I might continue almost indefinitely this appeal to the actual experience furnished by our own cities and those of other countries in support of the view that this corrupt alliance, and this only, is the true disease under which we are suffering, but I think enough has now been said. It is time to pass to the consideration of the remedy.

In the discussion of remedies I shall pass by, with little comment, those which do not appear at all adapted to remove

the disease, either because they mistake the actual nature of the malady, or pitch upon a treatment manifestly insufficient.

For these reasons I have little faith in mere *legislation*. Our trouble manifests itself universally in the fact that we have unworthy men in the municipal offices; that the qualifications actually made the ground for awarding such offices are not the capacity and the inclination to perform the duties which attach to them, but some capacity and willingness to make those offices productive of support, *first*, to the clique or conspiracy of the corrupt manipulators, and next, to the party with which they are allied; that is to say, qualifications not for the discharge of duty, but for the violation of it. Bad men like these in office will not, under any circumstances, execute the laws however wise they may be; nor can their character be changed or improved by legislation. It is important, indeed, to have good laws and ordinances; but they are tools and instrumentalities only. They are good only in the hands of good workmen; and these will do good work with very imperfect tools. I read an account recently of discoveries in Denmark of some of the relics of the stone age, including a variety of implements which men then employed. The gentleman upon whose lands they were found made a bargain with some excellent mechanics for the construction of a house in which to display them, stipulating that the very stone implements which had been discovered should be exclusively employed in the work. The result was said to be a very respectable and appropriate structure.

I do not doubt that excellent municipal government could everywhere be had in our country with the laws just as they are now, provided officers possessing the right qualifications were chosen or appointed; and, certainly, the wit of man cannot contrive laws which, with our present mode of selecting municipal officers, will produce good government. In saying this I do not, of course, mean to disparage the importance of wise legislation. We need a most thorough revision and recasting of our whole legal provision for local governments; but the time for executing this work will not come until we have acquired such

control of the electoral machinery that we can secure the presence of an honest and capable body of officials. Wherever, in order to gain control over that machinery, changes in the laws are necessary, as they often are, then indeed that work becomes immediately pertinent and important.

For similar reasons those efforts designed to institute watchfulness over official conduct with the view of prosecuting violations of official duty and thus compelling men to a proper discharge of it; and also those which seek to cultivate better relations between citizens and the official administrators, with a view of aiding and encouraging the latter in a more efficient discharge of duty, will prove ineffectual and disappointing. They mistake the malady. They are not aimed at the destruction of the corrupt alliance, and are not otherwise calculated to be fruitful in good results. Our whole difficulty lies in the presence in official places of men with the *wrong qualifications*. The natural, direct and only adequate remedy is to replace them with men having the right qualifications. We must act as prudent men act in the other affairs of life. In the selection of a house builder we do not choose at random, relying upon our ability to secure efficiency and fidelity by constant watchfulness, friendly remonstrances or suits for damages. Our endeavor always is to find a skillful artisan who has no object in view other than the thorough execution of his task, and whose heart is in his work. The same wisdom must be followed in the selection of our public agents.

I do not mean that no good can be done by the methods under notice, nor do I mean to discourage them. I believe that no effort for good by sincere men is ever wholly without effect; but the amount which can be accomplished by these efforts is so small in proportion to the time and labor expended that they are apt to result in discouragement and despair.

Passing to those methods of reform which are aimed directly at the real malady, and which for that reason best deserve our consideration, I can distinguish four possible ones, and all of them have to a greater or less extent engaged the attention of the bodies now represented here.

The *first* is to impose such restrictions upon municipal suffrage as would exclude from the enjoyment of it the floating, unattached, indifferent and therefore *purchasable* vote. I do not mean the vote purchasable by money simply, but by offers of place, or of favor, or other inducements of similar character, that is to say, the votes of those who place no just value upon the sacred right of suffrage.

Of the effectiveness of this method, if it were practicable to adopt it, I think there can be little doubt. It is aimed directly towards the destruction of the corrupt alliance by taking away from the manipulators and purveyors of the voting power the real and only material upon which they can work. This purchasable vote includes that of the criminal classes, of the mere tramps and beggars, and of that unattached and floating population which, either from misery, drink, laziness or general worthlessness, is never found for any considerable period inhabiting the same tenement. The numbers of this class in our great cities are very large, and, as mere *voters*, its members are more valuable than any others, because they furnish most of the repeaters. The efficiency of the method is found, not merely in the votes which it represses, but in those which it brings out. Nothing so much deters the intelligent and honest voter from the exercise of his privilege as the belief that it will do no good. Convinced by repeated experience that the manipulators of the corrupt vote will carry the election, he stays away from the polls; but if they were stripped of their power he would enlist in the strife with renewed confidence.

Nor can the justice and general wisdom of such restrictions be doubted. The right of suffrage necessarily assumes the existence in the voter of a certain measure of intelligence, honesty and interest in public affairs. Where this is absent the right has no just foundation; and if it were absent in the majority, or in any number approaching a majority, democratic government would fall from inherent weakness. Nor would the benefit which would flow from such an exclusion be limited to municipal administration. It would be felt in every department

of the government. Nor do I think that the common apprehension that such restrictions would operate to take away the privilege of suffrage from many worthy citizens simply because they are poor well founded. The exclusion of the vicious and worthless classes may be effected by making the qualification consist in the occupation of a tenement or permanent lodgings of an annual rent or value so small, or the payment of a tax so small, as to enable nearly every industrious and capable laborer to satisfy it. The exclusions would be so few and exceptional as to be unimportant when compared with the magnitude of the benefit secured.

It is here I apprehend that we find the reason why municipal improvement in England and Scotland has advanced in recent years with such rapid strides. The wide extension there given to the suffrage is such as to enable all who value the privilege to gain it; but it still excludes the floating and unattached population who would use it only by selling it. The consequence is that nowhere in the cities of those countries is the corrupt alliance found. The material upon which it works is absent. There has been almost nothing in the way of effort to work the local voting power in the interest of national politics, and such as has been made has been unsuccessful. Under these circumstances popular suffrage performs the office expected of it. Party lines are little regarded in municipal administration, although rigidly observed elsewhere. The re-election of town councillors, the officers of principal power and importance, who have shown creditable service, is nearly universal and almost of course. The consequence is that in the appointment of subordinate officers and employees, the carrying on of municipal works, the awarding of contracts, and, indeed, throughout the whole administration mere political motives have no place or influence. In other words the removal of municipal affairs from the domain of general politics is absolute.

This policy was recommended by the Commission appointed by the governor of New York in 1874 to devise a scheme for the municipal government of the cities of that State, but it failed

to receive the approval of the legislature. This failure was, of course, owing to the indisposition of legislatures to take the responsibility of any restriction of the suffrage. The Commission had little confidence that its recommendation would be adopted, but nevertheless determined to make it from a conviction that it was absolutely essential to any substantial improvement in the government of cities, and that, if rejected, it would be the best contribution in their power to the public discussion upon the subject. In its report it traced the main difficulty to the same source to which I have imputed it, and reached the conclusion that the corrupt alliance could be effectually broken up in large cities only by the exclusion of the purchasable vote of the floating and unattached classes. The qualifications it recommended for this purpose were extremely light, but such as, in its opinion, would be found effectual.

The action of this Commission was dictated not more by the desire for securing the best method of municipal improvement, than by that of preserving popular suffrage itself, or all that is valuable in it. Among the dangers which menace our free institutions there is none so threatening as that contained in the existence of a vast and increasing purchasable vote. It not only makes municipal improvement difficult, if not impossible, but stands as an obstacle in the pathway of every effort to secure political justice. It is an instrumentality which the unscrupulous men of wealth do not hesitate to employ. There is no political or social abuse which is not entrenched in it. All honest classes, and especially the honest poor, are deeply interested to strip it of its power. The intelligent organizations of laboring men are beginning to perceive that nothing stands so much in the way of their success in procuring just legislation as the presence in the legislative bodies of ignorant and unscrupulous demagogues, placed there by these votes, who pretend to be their supporters and are yet ready at any moment to betray them for a price. They may yet see that they have a stake quite as large as others in preserving popular suffrage in its purity; that that priceless guaranty of liberty cannot be main-

tained after it has ceased to be effectual to accomplish its first and main purpose, the ascertainment of the real popular will; that purchasable votes and the manipulators of them are always likely to be in the service of those who are able to pay the highest price for them, and that their true interest lies in stripping the vagrant, the tramp, the drunkard and the criminal of the power to baffle their efforts and control their destinies.

At present, however, the chances of effecting any change in the way of restricting the ballot seem so narrow that this remedy must be deemed impracticable. This makes the difficulty of municipal reform vastly greater with us than in England, but we must never admit it to be hopeless. The majority of honest voters is still prodigiously large, and will always be effectual when we can array them on the same side.

The method which I shall place as the *second* one for present consideration is the wider extension and more complete enforcement of *civil service rules*. All municipal reformers are heartily in favor of these, and no efforts to establish or to improve them will be wasted. They are right methods for our object, for their aim is to substitute other and better tests of the qualifications for municipal places than the possession of some connection with, and control over the purchasable vote, and to make municipal employment more permanent. So far as they are effective they diminish the public patronage at the disposal of the political manipulators. They do not directly diminish the purchasable vote, but they do diminish, or tend to diminish, the amount of capital at the service of the manipulators and with which they may buy that vote.

But there is an inherent infirmity in this method of reform which not only makes the adoption of it extremely difficult, but cripples its efficiency even when adopted. Civil service rules are *laws* only, and their utility and effectiveness are dependent upon the dispositions and qualifications of those appointed to enforce them, and these are now unfortunately the representatives of the corrupt alliance which the rules are designed to break up, and wherever this is the case they will fail to accom-

plish their purpose. They will be neglected, misinterpreted, or in some other way evaded. It is idle to suppose that this alliance will ever put into efficient operation any rules which will restrict its action, or stand in the way of its designs. Efforts may be made to constitute state commissions to administer the rules outside of, and over the heads of, the municipal offices; but this is contrary to just principles of municipal government, and affords little promise of success. So long as the politicians see the coveted prize before their eyes they will not allow such a barrier to forbid their possession of it.

It may be said that the same obstacles stand in the way of civil service rules in the national administration, and that, notwithstanding a large and beneficial measure of success has been gained in enforcing them. The cases, however, are widely different. The use of the patronage of the national government by the rival parties is one of the subjects of principal interest in national politics. Each of the two parties in making its appeal to the nation is obliged to take ground in favor of such rules and is held to account for the fidelity of the support which it furnishes to them. Moreover, the execution of them devolves on the President himself and the heads of departments, always men of high personal character, and who are deeply interested in making them effective in order to save themselves from intolerable vexation and hostile criticism. No party can now take upon itself the odium of a large, profligate, partisan use of federal patronage. It is otherwise in the matter of municipal patronage. No such public watchfulness and criticism are exercised. The difficulty is that the great political parties are willing to sacrifice the municipalities in order to gain success in the national arena. Their best members, or a large number of them, are inclined to wink at the prostitution of municipal offices and revenues when it is made in their behalf. They do what men always do when two objects are before them, namely, sacrifice the one which they deem inferior to that which seems to them the superior one; really, though not avowedly acting on the false and misleading maxim that the end justifies the means, they are not

unwilling that here and there a city may be plundered if their country may be saved; and in their view its salvation is in peril whenever a general election takes place.

Moreover, they think—and here they are absolutely right—that in national politics they are not concerned with municipal interests; that those are local, different and distinct, and must take care of themselves in their own way and at their own times. They see their adversaries trying to obtain advantages by working the power and patronage of the city government, and feel that they cannot afford to allow these odds against themselves, but that they must employ the same practices and fight fire with fire. If they could only be induced to adhere always to the view that municipal interests were distinct from national politics, and never allow either to interfere with the other, our task would be a comparatively easy one. Our whole struggle consists in implanting in the public mind this conviction. When this is accomplished the honest partisan, however ardent, will in a municipal election shut his eyes to the interests of his national party and leave them to take care of themselves at their own time and in their own way, just as in national elections he shuts his eyes to municipal interests.

Of course I am not to be understood as discouraging any attempt to establish civil service rules in municipal affairs. They are in harmony with all our efforts; but I have little faith in them as the first and principal remedy for the disorder with which we are dealing. They do not attack it directly. They assume its continuance, and the most that can be hoped from them is some palliation and limitation of its evil effects.

Another remedy very often suggested, and suggested by those every way friendly to our cause, I shall deal with as the *third* of those which may be regarded as deserving attention. This assumes that the management of city government is one of the *proper concerns* of national parties, or, if not one of their proper concerns, one that they will inevitably embrace. It assumes that any effort to make it a distinct subject of political consideration and action will prove abortive; and that as the

national parties always have taken it under their control, so they always will. The method of improvement suggested by them is that all good citizens accept this condition and diligently labor *inside* of their party organizations for the nomination of the best candidates for municipal office, and then throw the entire party strength in their favor. The notion is that the two great parties may thus engage in a rivalry to see which will best administer municipal affairs, in order by this, as well as their other action, to commend themselves to popular favor.

The great bulk of the supporters of this view do not seek to substantiate it by any careful and deliberate reasoning. Their inclination, indeed, is to disparage, not to say despise, such methods of enlightenment. They are in the habit of putting aside with a species of contempt the various schemes of municipal reformers as being mere theorizing and wholly destitute of practical wisdom. Now, inasmuch as what we are all trying for is to gain the truth and light which will furnish the best guides for action, and those who indulge in this sort of criticism assume to have a sufficient supply of practical wisdom, we ought to know what it is and to adopt it, and, therefore, they ought to apprise us a little more clearly what they really mean by their common criticisms of all methods of municipal reform which seek to get rid of the corrupting influence of the alliance between party managers and the unscrupulous purveyors of the voting power. What do they mean by saying that we are mere theorizers, that we live up in the clouds, that we must take men as they are, that there is a good deal of human nature in men, that what we want is plain common sense, etc., etc.? If they mean simply that in contriving methods we should avoid making *a priori* assumptions as to how men will act under certain supposed conditions, and avoid the adoption of methods, the actual operation of which is matter of pure conjecture, I entirely agree with them; and I also agree that the faults here indicated are not infrequently exhibited by political reformers; at the same time I must add that they are not peculiar to this class, but are found with all men who fail to give close observation to

actual facts. If they mean by theorizers men who, in forming their own opinions, or in seeking to convince others, think it necessary to employ what is called reasoning; that is to say, men who accept and apply conclusions well ascertained by observation and experience to be true, their criticism does not deserve attention, because it is a mere eulogism of ignorance. All men who ever assign a reason for anything are theorists, and the critics we are referring to are as much theorists as others. This is what theory means. There are certainly good theorists and bad ones, and they differ from each other just as wise men differ from fools.

If, however, the meaning is that in all our efforts to contrive methods for improvement we should constantly have in view the facts of actual experience and be guided by the teaching which they furnish, I cordially concur in the precept and shall endeavor to apply it in considering the method of reform which these critics suggest.

And first as to the assertion, or the assumption, that municipal administration is a proper concern of the national parties. There are now fortunately but few who take this ground, although there may be many who say that such parties will make it one of their concerns in spite of all that can be done to prevent it; but it is yet important that the notion should be absolutely discredited and dismissed. Undoubtedly municipal affairs are, or may be, to a certain extent, a very proper concern of political parties. Municipal government should be made as uniform as possible, and the work of framing it and determining what powers shall be entrusted to the local governments, by what officers they shall be administered, how they should be elected or appointed, and what means of home rule should be allowed, is a part of the general policy of the state resting under the control of the legislature, the members of which are, and should be, nominated and elected through party agencies. Upon such matters men will have different opinions, shaped, to a large extent, by their general political views of the province of government. So far municipal government is a proper subject of party

action. But this is not what engages our attention. What we are thinking about and trying to improve is the actual conduct of municipal administration in *particular* cities. We take such a framework, such laws, as the legislature, dominated by one party or the other, chooses to give us, and are seeking for the best method of *administering* those in the communities for which they are framed ; and how can any one say that this is a proper concern of the general parties? The question always arises in respect of some particular city. The whole business of municipal administration consists in determining for such city how much money shall be raised for the purpose of securing the welfare of the people of that city by making suitable provision for streets, water, lighting, suppressing fires, maintaining schools, supporting the poor, maintaining order by the police and criminal magistrates, etc. Many of these functions, such as supplying water, lighting, paving, etc., might be farmed out for a price to some stock company, as they sometimes are, and in such a case, if the company were to do its work well, and make a return to its stockholders, what board of managers would ever allow political considerations to have any place in their affairs, or ever employ the class of persons who as a general rule, under our present system, actually have the management of them ?

And let us apply the test of actual experience, which should be decisive wherever we can find it. Let me refer again to the examples of the cities of England and Scotland. There, as we have seen, most gratifying progress has been made in municipal improvement, but wherever it has been made we find the absence of any attempt by the national political parties to gain the control of municipal affairs. Turn to the experience of our own cities and we find everywhere that every step in municipal improvement has been gained, so far as any have been gained, by wresting the control of the municipalities from the political organizations, so that we may say with truth that the condition of municipal government ascends or descends in exact proportion as it disregards or obeys the principle that such government is no proper concern of national parties. In view of these

facts, which present themselves with uniformity everywhere, how is it possible to doubt that the proper domains of local and national or state governments are entirely distinct, and that any attempt by national or state parties to control the administration of the affairs of cities is a mischievous encroachment which can result only in evil.

Let me turn for a single moment, not away from the teachings of experience, but away from direct instances and examples and towards what the dictates of common sense, the fruit of experience, inculcate. National and state parties are moved and controlled by the citizens of the nation and state, and if they attempt to regulate the immediate government of particular cities, such regulation must be by their members or their representatives, that is to say, the domestic affairs of Chicago are governed by the citizens of Illinois or their representatives; those of New York by the citizens of the State of New York or their representatives; those of Cleveland by the citizens of Ohio or their representatives. Now, every one must admit that three qualifications are indispensable to the successful government of the affairs of any city. Those who attempt this task must have, *first*, a deep *interest* in the matters which they assume to regulate; *second*, an adequate *knowledge* concerning them; and *third*, a due sense of the *responsibility* they assume in discharging the duties they undertake. Is either of these qualifications to be found in the citizens of the states in which cities happen to be? Who will say that the citizens at large of Illinois, or of New York, or of Ohio, or their representatives, have that especial interest, knowledge and sense of responsibility in respect of the local governments of Chicago, New York City or Cleveland which qualifies them or their representatives for the control of those governments? We all know that this is not true. We all know that the interests of either of these cities must necessarily suffer under such management, and yet this is the sort of management which must be had where municipal affairs are assumed as being one of the proper concerns of the national or state parties.

But many of those who favor the method now under notice, admit all I have said to be true, admit that the plan is extremely ill-contrived to break up the corrupt alliance, and that there is no experience proving that it has ever been attended with success, but are yet still inclined to insist upon it, on the ground that it is, as they say, the only *practicable* remedy; and they entertain hopes that if honest and right-minded partisans were stimulated by strong appeals to attend their primary meetings, they would go there in numbers large enough to outvote the corrupt manipulators and their adherents and secure the nomination of honest and competent candidates for municipal office.

But those who entertain these views should be reminded that they are exhibiting the fault which they so often condemn in other municipal reformers. They are departing from the lessons of experience, and resorting to mere unsupported conjecture. And they are not only departing from these lessons, but acting against them. We are not destitute of experience on this point. This method is the one which has been tried more than any other. We have had rung in our ears for a long time the necessity of the habitual attendance by the members of each of the parties at the political primaries. The appeals have been unceasing, and, at the same time, wholly ineffectual. The masses of the parties who have no personal interest cannot be induced to attend the primaries for this purpose in sufficient numbers. This is for the reason that they feel that the effort will be wasted. Many have from time to time tried it, and have met with nothing but disappointment and defeat. Within the last six months an unusually determined effort has been made in the city of New York in the Republican party to awaken its masses to the importance of this political duty, and the result has been a re-establishment, more firm than before, of the control within that party of the corrupt manipulators.

And could the result be expected to be otherwise? In the first place, it is almost certain that the class last mentioned, whose whole business life, and all whose hopes of support are bound up in maintaining the political control upon which they

subsist, will be present at the primaries almost to a man with their adherents, while only a comparatively few of the opposite character can be induced to make the same effort. But let us suppose that the better class were actually induced to attend in superior numbers, what is to take place then? All meet together as *friends* belonging to the same political party and for the *primary* purpose of securing its success. All call upon each other to use every effort to this end. Is hostile action among themselves possible under such circumstances? Is it possible to introduce a distinct and independent topic of discord, to raise matters for discussion in respect to which one half thinks the other to be composed of corrupt self-seekers? The corrupt manipulators will say, "If you expect us and our friends to go to work to secure success for the party, you must reward us by supporting our claims to municipal places." Can the others answer, "That is just what we are here to prevent; we think you are corrupt men and shall do our utmost to prevent your obtaining the control you seek; we are determined that none but the best men shall gain the municipal offices?" This is manifestly impossible; and for the reason that it is an attempt to reach two ends at the same time and by the same means. The principal one will of necessity crowd out the other. Municipal reform can be secured only by a warfare directly waged against the corrupt element. That warfare cannot be carried on at a meeting which that element is invited to attend and to unite in efforts to carry forward another and distinct purpose. It will be found almost invariably that at primary political meetings the demands of the corrupt element in respect to municipal patronage and places will not only not be opposed, but will be supported by the honest men who are present at it, because of their sense of the importance of the political object. No great cause encumbered with difficulties was ever yet advanced by combining it with another and distinct object. If we ever wish to accomplish any social result by a union of those in favor of it, we must make that result the sole object in view.

We are thus brought to consider the last of the four methods

of municipal reform which I have mentioned as admitting of discussion. This consists in the full practical recognition of the truth that municipal administration is no just or proper concern of the national parties, that all attempts to deal with it by those parties should be abandoned, and that it should be left to the control of the citizens of each city through such political organizations as they may form for the purpose.

What I have already said is sufficient to show that this is in harmony with sound political principle. Indeed, this will hardly be questioned. It is also the natural and appropriate remedy for the municipal malady under which I have endeavored to show we are suffering. It strikes immediately and directly at the alliance between the corrupt purveyors of the voting power in the cities and the managers of the great parties. It must, if carried out, effectually destroy it, for it leaves to it no possibility of action or influence. It strips the corrupt manipulators of the vote of that *disguise* which is indispensable to their operations. There would be no *party* candidate for municipal offices. No appeal could be made to those who habitually prefer the interests of party to municipal interests to support any particular candidate. If any parties existed they would be new ones formed for the purpose of carrying out competing views concerning the best municipal policy, and to this there could be no objection.

Indeed all honest opposition to the project must, I conceive, grow out of the notion that it is *impracticable*, and this point is the only one which we need consider. I am quite aware, as I have already indicated, that many will be inclined to reject the method at once on this ground; but I apprehend that the largest part of these are influenced rather by their wishes than their reason. Strong party men fear that they will lose strength by this abandonment of the control of political concerns, and they have not as yet quite brought themselves to the belief that a tolerable municipal administration may not yet be had under partisan control. Discussion and the course of events will be likely to change their views. The corrupt manip-

ulators will, of course, stigmatize the project as mere moonshine; but the opinions of these may be dismissed at once. They will be the enemies of any effort. The adverse opinions of the real friends of reform are the only ones which it is important to consider.

To these we should say that, however impracticable the plan may seem, it ought to be tried, because it is the only scheme which offers any chance of success. The alternative lies between this and the present method of party management with its inevitable corrupt alliance. That we know to be ineffective. So far from affording any promise for the removal of the disease, it is itself the source of the disease. If, therefore, there were no reason for trying to put the plan into operation other than a mere hope of success, it ought to be tried.

But are there any adequate grounds for this assertion of impracticability? Let us appeal to actual experience. In the cities of England and Scotland we find the system in full and successful operation; what good reason have we for believing that it is impossible here? Are we to accept it as true that our great civic communities, filled with men of vigor, energy and public spirit, are inferior in intelligence, patriotic spirit and energy to those of other lands?

And let us appeal to our own experience also. Some may hastily say that the thing has been tried among ourselves over and over again, and has always failed. I insist that this assertion is erroneous. No effort has at any time been made in our large cities to permanently remove the administration of municipal affairs from the control of the political parties. Fitful, volcanic and temporary efforts have indeed been made at times to overthrow corrupt cliques who have, in the name of one or the other of the great parties, obtained and prostituted political power; but these have been, for the most part, combinations between the political party out of power and recalcitrant elements of the other, and have never proceeded upon the idea of finally and forever removing political concerns from the domain of national politics.

But what do these examples really teach? They have been in numerous instances successful, and recently they have been triumphantly successful. In the late contest in New York a clique ruling, under the Democratic disguise with a majority of sixty thousand, which it was supposed might always be reckoned upon, was overthrown by an adverse majority nearly as large; and this was done upon a platform avowing the expediency and necessity of non-partisan government. The late election in the city of Chicago is another illustration of the practicability of inducing citizens to break away from nominations made by their parties and rally around other candidates. It is in another respect still more instructive and encouraging. Upon the submission to the people of the direct question of the adoption of stringent civil service rules, those rules were supported by a decisive majority. Similar examples in narrower fields have also been furnished by smaller cities. Taking into view these instances, together with the new impulse which has recently been given to the civic non-partisan spirit and of which this League is the fruit, the assertion of the impracticability of effecting an entire separation of municipal administration from partisan control is not well founded.

Undoubtedly, the circumstance that under our system of unrestricted suffrage we have to labor against a large floating, unattached and purchasable vote makes the difficulties with which we have to contend much greater than any found in the cities of England or in other civilized countries where non-partisan administration has become so fully established; but I cannot believe that this is enough to make the task impossible, or that our vigorous populations will not summon up the resolution and energy requisite to surmount the obstacle. We should remember that this vote is after all a very small part of the whole, that the majority of substantial, well-disposed citizens, who have no interest in anything but good government, is overwhelmingly large, and that the only task is to array the bulk of it upon one side.

It may be asked what particular steps should, or may, be

taken to effect the proposed separation of municipal concerns. I can only offer suggestions of what seem to be the most natural and easy. The final scheme which experience may show to be the wisest will eventually develop itself.

What seems to me to be the obvious way of *beginning* is the formation of civic associations in the several election districts composed of those, and those only, who are heartily in favor of the effort, and their subsequent enlargement by the admission of new members ascertained upon due inquiry to entertain like opinions. The danger in such cases is that the corruptionists themselves may seek an entrance into the body in order to control it in the same way in which they now control the primary political organizations, and that even those who are not corruptionists may seek to obtain control for the purpose of advancing their political fortunes. The safeguard against these dangers lies in a scrutiny into the character of candidates proposed for submission and the cultivating of a sentiment distinctly opposed to all mere self-seeking. I am encouraged by the examples furnished by the Good Government Clubs of the city of New York to believe that it is not difficult to escape these perils. Those Clubs have already become powerful agencies for good. No considerable attempt has as yet been discovered to work these associations in the interest of either political party. Even when they have supported, as they sometimes have, some particular candidate of one party as against that of the other, the propriety of the action has been so manifest as to repel the suggestion of an unworthy motive. The members do not even know in most cases the political inclinations of their fellows and exhibit no curiosity even upon that point, and the spirit of self-seeking wherever it has manifested itself has been severely repressed.

Whenever these associations shall have succeeded in embracing a sufficient voting strength to constitute a formidable power, even though it be largely inferior to that of either of the political parties, they should unite and make nominations and appear in the field as a contestant for the supremacy on a simple,

but absolutely non-partisan platform. They must peremptorily assert that municipal administration is no proper concern of the state and national parties, that these are unauthorized intruders into the arena of municipal elections, coming there for the purposes of mischief and corruption. This platform, resting as it does upon an immutable truth which will become more and more manifest, can hardly fail to attract a support outside of the associations themselves. The nominations, prompted by nothing but a desire to promote municipal welfare, will exhibit a superiority so marked as to still further attract such outside support. Moderate success at the beginning will greatly encourage and stimulate the movement, and there is a probability that such a municipal party will very soon control a voting power nearly or quite as large as that of either of the national parties.

We must keep in mind that what now gives the municipal tickets of the two parties a large part of their strength is the fact that the members of those parties who would be quite willing to shape their action in any way calculated to produce a better administration see no way of doing it. There is no contestant in the field against these parties having any chance of success. The consequence is that they either refrain from voting, or vote their party ticket. If they saw contestants in the field who would, in their belief, give a better administration, and who had a fair chance of election, they would change their action at once and success would be assured. We must see that this is true, for even now the willingness to leave the party ranks is so general, that a marked superiority in the pretensions for good municipal government shown by one party over the other is often sufficient to drive thousands to vote in favor of the party against which they are accustomed to act. How much more readily would such as these support candidates distinctly non-partisan, and who afford a much better promise of good administration.

Let it be assumed that through an organization such as has been suggested a municipal party succeeds in collecting and

arraying in one of our large cities one-sixth of the municipal vote pledged to support a non-partisan platform and candidates. The ticket it would make up would be so manifestly superior to that of either of the national parties that it could hardly fail to draw largely from their ranks ; and, as the members of the organization would, nearly all of them, be individual propagandists, it would not be unreasonable to expect that each member might make one convert. This would immediately swell the vote to a third, making the result doubtful and success possible where the national parties are equally divided ; and wherever one has a large majority it would compel the other to throw its support to the non-partisan ticket. Whenever the power to effect so much is demonstrated, in my view, the whole object will be gained. The enemy, by whom I mean both the political parties, will be in an infinitely worse condition than the friends of reform have heretofore been. They cannot unite and thus conquer, for the bulk of their numbers are still honest partisans, whose first object is to defeat their adversaries. If they cannot gain the spoils of office and patronage for the aggrandizement of their own party they can still prevent their adversary from gaining them by uniting with the municipal party, which, if it gains the prize, will not use it for the benefit of either, and this they will be driven to do. The corrupt manipulators would, of course, unite if they could thus win ; but, apart from the purchasable vote with which they deal, they are few in number, and even with that vote they would be a contemptible minority. Moreover, they could not even make a struggle, for they would have no disguise under which to operate. Unable to call themselves either Democrats or Republicans, they could stand forth only in the attitude of spoilsmen, whose direct object was to gain power in order to prostitute it. No body of men, except reformers, will ever assume before the public a position simply ridiculous unless they can perceive some clear prospect of success.

I therefore conclude that the best, and indeed the only remedy for our municipal ills lies in asserting as our platform the plain and simple doctrine that municipal administration is

no proper concern of the national and state parties and that they should not interfere in any manner with it, and in acting on that doctrine aggressively by arraying all who will accept it in organizations for the nomination and election of candidates pledged to administer office absolutely without reference to national or state politics. We shall never rid ourselves of the corrupt alliance which everywhere holds us in its chains, until we shake off that party interference by which it is engendered and sustained.

If this end could be attained we should be able to bring about a reorganization of the framework of municipal government in our great cities upon the basis of that principle commonly called Home Rule. In many of our cities, notably in those of the State of New York, the citizens have been largely deprived of all immediate supervision and control of their municipal affairs. There is no council or legislative body having any considerable power. The people have, indeed, the privilege of electing a few principal officers, but the duties of these officers are, for the most part, prescribed with minuteness by laws passed by the legislature. There is little room for the exercise of that constant discretion which is so necessary. Local government is well-nigh abrogated. The power of the state is continually invoked, even in reference to such concerns as the opening of streets and public places. A large part of the time of legislators from the rural districts is occupied in discussing the wants and needs of city populations, of which they are, for the most part, ignorant, and in which it is impossible they should feel the personal interest which is requisite to just administration. This situation is full of opportunities for the prosecution of schemes for the private advantage of individuals, and the fortunes of the municipalities become the traffic of the legislative lobbies.

And yet this system of government has been found necessary. The inhabitants of the cities plundered without limit by their own legislative bodies have been compelled to fly to the state for relief. The system, bad as it is, cannot safely be

changed in New York until by the destruction of the corrupt alliance the people are enabled to obtain the control of the electorate; and the same necessity will probably come to be felt in other cities of the country which, so far, have been permitted to retain self-government.

I have spoken only of those benefits of reform in municipal administration which would be felt by the cities themselves; but in truth this would be but half of the blessing. It would extend to our national politics. Who does not see with humiliation the extent to which mere personal interests and ambitions now govern the actions of our national parties? They are becoming incapable of discharging the true functions for which national parties exist. Among the causes of this sad condition there is no factor more potent than municipal corruption. Under its blighting and withering influence, the character of the representatives in the national councils from all the great cities has sensibly declined. The prodigious power gained and exercised by the municipal spoilsmen, and their control over great masses of the popular vote are an all-pervading evil. This power is and must be courted by the leaders of the national parties, by the great ambitions, by those who aspire to the Presidency and to seats in the Senate. It may be and is the subject of purchase by the great monied interests, and of corrupt bargains with party interests. I look upon the destruction of the corrupt alliance between the national parties and the manipulators of the voting power in the cities not only as necessary to the redemption of municipal administration, but as the first, most important and effective step in a reform which will tend to place our national parties beyond the reach of the worst corruptions, infuse into them a new spirit, and enable them to better perform their true functions.

THE PROGRESS OF MUNICIPAL REFORM, 1894-95.

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Prior to 1894, the progress of municipal reform had been slow, although not unattended by encouraging features. With the opening of that year, the dawn of a brighter day and the indications of a more rapid and substantial growth appeared; but the most sanguine worker did not anticipate the unparalleled civic awakening and truly extraordinary development of interest in municipal affairs of the past fifteen months. At that time—January, 1894—there were a few more or less intermittently active organizations, and fewer really aggressive municipal reform bodies, mostly confined to the cities on the Atlantic seaboard; now there are close on to two hundred municipal leagues, city and good government clubs, civic federations and similar associations, under slightly varying names, to be found in every section of the Union.

In January, 1894, the First National Conference for Good City Government was held in Philadelphia. In May, of the same year, the National Municipal League was organized in New York City, with sixteen affiliated associations. In December last the Second National Conference was held in Minneapolis; and we have met at this time, in Cleveland, to hold the first annual meeting of the League and the Third National Conference. The bare fact of being able to hold four large, well-attended and representative meetings within the brief space of sixteen months, all to discuss the same subject, is of itself convincing proof of the deep and widespread interest in the question of municipal government; but such evidence becomes of secondary importance and is almost lost sight of when we come to consider the great and unprecedented progress of organized

municipal reform effort, the already large but constantly increasing literature of the subject; and the very general and continuous discussion of it in all the leading newspapers of the land.

When the National Municipal League was organized a year ago, there were between forty and fifty municipal reform organizations, distributed among fourteen States, a very small proportion only being found in the trans-Mississippi states. Now there are one hundred and eighty (180) organizations on our lists (not including those composed exclusively of women), distributed among thirty-one states, and the Western cities are as well represented and as active as their Eastern sisters. In May, 1894, there were six organizations to be found in New England; now, there are thirteen; in the Middle States, the nineteen of a year ago have increased to sixty-six; in the Southern Central States the increase has been from four to twenty-four; in the Northern Central States, from nine to thirty-seven; in the Western and Pacific States, from six to thirty-seven. From this summary we see the greatest increase to have been in the Middle States, and especially in New York and New Jersey, where the energetic assaults of Dr. Parkhurst upon Tammany misrule, the Lexow Committee's revelation of Tammany corruption, and the earnestness and vigor of the New York reformers have had a maximum of effect.

In May, 1894, there were eleven associations in New York and three in New Jersey, compared with thirty-six in the former and twenty in the latter at the present time. In many other states the advance has been equally great; for instance, in Wisconsin, we learn that it has been from two to seven; in California, the same; in Ohio, from two to twelve; in Minnesota, from one to seven; in Pennsylvania, from five to ten; in Illinois, the same; in Maryland, from four to eight.

Of the thirteen organizations in New England six are in Massachusetts, four in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island and one in Maine. In the Middle States Delaware alone is unrepresented on the list. All the Northern and Southern Central

States now have active reform bodies within their borders, Ohio leading off with twelve, Illinois coming next with ten, Wisconsin third with nine. Michigan and Indiana have three each, Kentucky and Tennessee two each. In the South, Maryland heads the list with eight, Missouri and Georgia following with three each; Louisiana has two; Texas one; the District of Columbia three. In the West the greatest activity is to be found on the Pacific Coast, California leading with nine; Washington and Oregon each having two. In the interior Minnesota leads with seven; Colorado has six; Iowa three; Nebraska, Kansas and Montana two each and Utah one.

If we may be permitted to take the League's correspondence as a criterion, there is no section of the land not agitated over the question of bettering the government of our cities. We have correspondents in every state and territory, except, perhaps, in the Indian, Oklahoma and Alaska. They all bear testimony to the necessity of taking immediate steps to rescue our city governments from the clutch of the selfish politician, and the establishment therein of higher standards of efficiency of administration and of character requirements for officials. They further bear testimony to the fact that, while the reformer has a serious task on his hands to oust the politicians, entrenched as they are in spoils and power, he has a greater task in bringing the average American citizen to a full realization that his citizenship has duties attached to its exercise as well as privileges. It is an encouraging sign of the times, however, that an increasing portion of the population, realizing the gravity of the situation and the importance of redeeming our cities (if we are to preserve our great political heritage of representative government undiminished), are forming associations to combat the evils of apathy and indifference, seeking to neutralize their bad effects by inculcating a deeper sense of personal responsibility on the part of each individual citizen. May the National Municipal League prove equal to the task of forming and guiding this awakening spirit of civic patriotism to the end that there may

be a speedy and permanent solution of the great present-day problem of municipal government!

Calling the roll of the great cities of the country we find every one reporting with one or more active organizations. In Boston the long-established Citizens' Association continues its work of insisting upon a rigid enforcement of ordinances and a fulfilment of contracts. The Municipal League, under the inspiring leadership of Samuel B. Capen (Vice-president of the National Municipal League), is pressing forward toward important victories, and doing yeoman service in securing an improved charter and creating an enlightened public sentiment. The work of these two exclusively municipal reform bodies is greatly aided by the occasional assistance of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Good Citizenship and the Massachusetts Reform Club.

In New York we find the City Club and the network of Good Government Clubs; the City Vigilance League (frequently spoken of as one of Dr. Parkhurst's societies); the City Improvement Society; the Committee of Seventy; and last, but by no means least, the Chamber of Commerce, all working steadily toward the same end—that of ridding New York of every vestige of inefficient and corrupt government, substituting therefor a non-partisan business administration of city affairs; and laboring to maintain a public opinion that will be intolerant of anything short of the best attainable government for the city. Each organization is working in its own way, with different methods, but the problem is so complex and the field is so extensive that all the forces now at work find ample opportunity for effective exercise, without in any way interfering with one another.

The great victory of November, 1894, was brought about by the co-operation and co-ordination of the regular army of reformers and the volunteer army of the forces opposed to Tammany. The reformers have been busily occupied ever since in protecting the fruits of the hard-earned victory from those selfish enough to regard as entirely and solely their own every-

thing in which they may have had a share, no matter how small a one.

Over in Brooklyn the citizens have been enjoying the benefits of a reform administration under Mr. Schieren. The Citizens' Union of Kings County that did such admirable work in securing his election, although it has not had much to do since his election, is still in existence and ready for any emergency. There have been recently formed several Good Government Clubs, mostly for the purpose of promoting a deeper interest in civic affairs.

The Municipal League of Philadelphia achieved a notable and a substantial victory, in connection with several other organizations, in a successful fight against the effort made by the "State boss" of Pennsylvania to treat the city as a pocket borough, by forcing his candidate for mayor upon the people. Its effort at the February election to rescue the city councils from the grasp of corrupt influences was not so successful, largely owing to the fact that national issues were injected into the mayoralty contest, and everything was sacrificed to the supreme effort made to enable "the Dutch to capture Holland" again. The League's thirty-five hundred members regard their councilmanic defeat as but temporary, and already it is girding its loins for future contests. The Citizens' Association, like that of Boston, is performing a much-needed service in keeping a sharp eye on contractors. Both bodies took an active and prominent part in securing the appointments of a Senatorial Investigating Committee to inquire into the conduct of the city's affairs. The Committee of 95, formed during the recent councilmanic campaign, has co-operated heartily and cordially with the League.

In Baltimore the Reform League and the Union for Public Good continue their good work; the latter has been specially active in organizing a number of Good Government Clubs. It proposes to keep up this good work until every section of Baltimore has such a club. The Citizens' Movement and the Taxpayers' Association are still at work in their special fields.

The great victory for civil service reform in Chicago is still fresh in mind, and the leading part taken by the Civic Federation and the success attending its efforts in other directions will always be a matter of pride to its members. The venerable Citizens' Association, with its long line of accomplished reforms, continues, as formerly, to work along lines similar to those of the Philadelphia and Boston Associations. The purposes of the Christian Citizenship League are expressed in its name.

The activities of the Milwaukee Municipal League have perhaps met with more success during the past year than those of any other single reform organization. It set out last autumn to accomplish three things: the formation of similar associations in leading Wisconsin towns, the enactment of a civil service and corrupt practices laws. It has been influential in accomplishing the first two, and in pressing the third far along toward a successful issue. All this has been done in addition to carrying forward much-needed local work.

The enumeration of cities and organizations could be continued almost indefinitely, but the various papers dealing with municipal conditions to be read at this Conference will in all likelihood contain references to the other leading reform bodies. We have confined our comments mainly to those cities that were treated of at former meetings, and which find no formal place on this year's programme.

Reference has already been made to the two National Conferences thus far held, one at Philadelphia, the other at Minneapolis. The former preceded, and led up the formation of the National Municipal League; the latter was the first held under its auspices. At the Philadelphia Conference, the veteran reformers predominated. The Minneapolis Conference was characterized by the attendance of a goodly number of younger men—those just beginning to take an active interest in public affairs, and just coming to the front as champions of political purity and opponents of municipal misrule. The former was auspicious because of the deep and earnest spirit for the first time so gen-

erally manifested. The latter was equally auspicious because of the presence of the younger men.

The League was organized with sixteen associations enrolled as affiliated members. This number has increased to within two of fifty, with several awaiting admission. Its associate membership numbers one hundred and eighty-five. It has labored to bring all workers in behalf of higher municipal standards into closer fellowship; to aid in that exchange of opinions and experience which is so essential to progress and successful effort; to extend a helping hand to young and struggling organizations, and to prepare and disseminate literature at once instructive and inspiring. During the past year work along each of these lines has been carried forward. The League has sought in every way possible to promote the cause of better government. It has rendered assistance and given advice when called upon. It has prepared and distributed twenty-four thousand copies of pamphlets Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, making four hundred thousand pages of printed matter; these have been sent into every nook and corner of the land. No. 1 dealt with the question of "The Churches and Good City Government" and "What a Private Citizen Can Do for Good City Government;" No. 2 contained an "Address to the Public" and the constitution and by-laws of the League; No. 3, "The Relation of Civil Service Reform to Municipal Reform;" and No. 4, the constitution and by-laws of the leading reform bodies of the country.

The League has done and is doing its utmost to co-ordinate all the forces making for civic righteousness, and to bring into closer and more harmonious relations all workers in behalf of better municipal government, to the end that they may be brought to realize that they are all fighting the same battle, no matter how distant they may be from one another.

No account of municipal reform progress would be complete without a reference to the increasing activity and co-operation of women. They are rapidly coming to the front both in their own organizations, like the Health Protective Associations or

Women's Clubs, and in organizations like the Civic Federation of Chicago, composed of men and women. We find them contributing largely to the study of the complex problems of the cities. There are few communities (Colorado is one of the exceptions) where women now have the right of municipal suffrage; hence their activity is of necessity limited to educational and agitational efforts, and to looking after the details of municipal housekeeping. Whenever their efforts have been properly and persistently directed in these channels, substantial results have been accomplished, for in these directions women have exceptional capacity.

We have considered the long list of reform bodies from the standpoint of their geographical distribution; it is a much more difficult task to classify them according to their form and methods. We shall not undertake this in the present connection. A study from this standpoint, however, discloses that all associations, of whatever form, insist upon what we may justly term the condition precedent to true and permanent reform, the separation of state and national politics from municipal affairs, and the elimination of partisanship from municipal business. The eradication of the spoils system and the substitution of the merit system for that of favoritism are likewise deemed essential.

Back of all the diversity of forms, we see a sturdy, resolute determination to remove the stigma that is resting upon American municipalities. It is the spirit of 1776 and 1860 manifesting itself in a new way. Some of the efforts are crude; some destined to failure; all to temporary defeats; but as surely as our independence was won, and the Union preserved, just so surely will the evil of municipal misgovernment be eventually conquered and American cities placed where they should be—in the very front rank of well-governed cities. This end will not be accomplished in a single campaign; it may not come in the lifetime of many now living; it will not come without a struggle and without sacrifice; but come it must and will, and when it comes it will be a moral as well as a political victory, for we are rapidly coming to see that the whole question is, at the bottom,

one of eternal right and wrong, and the religious forces are ranging themselves on the side of those working for the emancipation of the American city and citizen.

What the coming year may have in store for the movement cannot be foretold, but of one thing we are assured,—the whole question has come to be discussed as never before, and its importance has been brought home to a large number of those who value their political heritage and those interested in their country's highest development. Something more than all this, however, is necessary—a deep-seated determination to sacrifice everything, if need be, rather than permit the dearly-earned liberties and reputation transmitted to us by our forefathers to be diminished or tarnished by selfish incompetency and inefficiency. The present situation which confronts us may not be so dramatic as that of 1776 or 1860, but it is equally as portentous to the future welfare and maintenance of our republican state.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF CINCINNATI.

CHARLES B. WILBY.

On the night of March 29, 1884, a mob burned the courthouse at Cincinnati and destroyed records the loss of which will be felt for many generations. Such senseless acts of vandalism as this never express the true meaning of the popular discontent which leads up to them.

A flagrant miscarriage of justice seems to have precipitated that outbreak, but neither this cause nor the resulting act of the mob were directly related to those forms of misgovernment which for many years prior to that time had been breeding trouble in Cincinnati, except that the result in this case furnished a striking proof of the incapacity of the police force.

The reaction which came after the burning of the courthouse, aided by disclosures of gross frauds at the next ensuing election, enabled the people to procure in 1886 the Board of Elections with the registration law, which assured a fair ballot, and a reform of the police department under a law which, though handicapped by its double partisan feature, has worked so well, because of the leaven of civil service reform contained in it, that the police department of Cincinnati, from the worst, has become perhaps the best branch of its government.

With honest elections and a police force which really protected those who deserved protection, the people of Cincinnati began to awaken from the stupor which long had overpowered them, and in 1890 what was called a new city charter, but really a revision of the laws relating to certain offices and departments, was prepared after much deliberation and submitted to the legislature.

In its general scope the bill as first proposed embodied what is known as the federal system of municipal government, very

much like what was adopted for the city of Cleveland at the same session of the legislature.

I have often regretted that the influence of the best citizens of Cincinnati does not seem to make itself felt in municipal affairs as does that of the citizens of Cleveland. I shall not attempt to say whether this is traceable to a lower political tone bred in Cincinnati by its location on the line between the North and the South, where the burning ante-bellum questions aroused the most belligerent partisanship and absorbed the attention of her people so that municipal issues were habitually neglected, or whether it is because of the existence among the people of Cleveland of a larger amount of that New England spirit, which, born in the atmosphere of the town meeting, has made them more ready to give their attention to the city's affairs.

Whatever may be the explanation, anyone who has studied the municipal laws of Ohio has noticed the difference to the great advantage of Cleveland in the legislation which has been provided for the government of that city as compared with that which applies to Cincinnati.

Long before the legislation of 1891 to which I refer the people of Cleveland seem to have been able to find out what laws they needed and to obtain them in some way unknown on the Ohio River.

In 1891 the legislation which was proposed for the reorganization of the government of Cleveland was carried through a symmetrical whole as proposed, while that asked for Cincinnati was much altered before its passage.

Some changes were made in the official nomenclature and the evils of partisanship were increased in a community already suffering sorely from that malady, by the vesting of the government in five bi-partisan, or double partisan boards, and a legislative body composed of representatives, elected one for each ward, with no provision for minority representation, thus dividing the taxpayers so that they might be defeated in detail after the most approved plan for municipal misgovernment.

It is claimed that the law was a step forward, because it

reposed greater power in the mayor and gave more home rule to the city by taking from the governor the appointment of its most important board, but we have the same sort of a mayor now that we habitually had before the law was passed.

Prior to the enactment of this law, the police board and the board of elections had been bi-partisan, but the evils of that feature were minimized by the fact that the appointments were made by the governor, who being above the petty local partisanship usually had given us boards composed of men who were nearly able to be non-partisan.

With the new charter, however, the people of Cincinnati got the bi-partisan board system in its worst form. At present the police board alone is appointed by the governor, while the mayor appoints the board of administration, the board of supervisors, the board of elections and the board of fire commissioners.

There is no doubt that the practice of governing cities from the state capital is objectionable for many reasons, but sometimes the people of Cincinnati have turned to the governor and state legislature when seeking to escape from the bad results of local influences.

The five boards in which are nominally reposed the powers of the city of Cincinnati are as follows :

First, in chronological order, though not in political importance, the law of 1886 vested the police power in the mayor and a board of four commissioners appointed by the governor, and this was not disturbed.

Second in time, but first in importance, is the board of administration which, under the act of 1891, controls the city government in its most essential and important particulars.

This board consists of four citizens who, according to the language of the statute, shall be "well known for their intelligence and integrity," appointed by the mayor.

The board of administration, aside from the power vested in the police board, transacts five-sixths of the business of the city, its authority covers that given to the department of works under the Cleveland charter, and includes many other powers,

those of the board of control, infirmary directors, health department, including the appointment of a health officer, water works trustees, etc.

More recently the board of park commissioners has been abolished, and its power and patronage were added to those of the board of administration.

The other boards are: The board of fire commissioners, consisting of four members; the board of supervisors, which performs the duty of the tax commission, and board of revision and equalization, consisting of six members.

All of these minor boards are appointed by the mayor, and in the selection of all of them there is the same ridiculous requirement of the law that regard should be had to their views upon the tariff if they have any, and if not, then to their general political prejudices and sentiments.

I am asked to touch upon the adaptability of our present form of government to local needs.

I should say that bi-partisan boards are especially that form of city government not adapted to the local needs of the city of Cincinnati. The lesson above all others which her people need to learn is that partisan politics are out of place in municipal affairs.

Still voting as they shot, they seem to be unable to learn this lesson, and our separation of municipal from national elections does not make the task easier. The party discipline is kept up and the partisan forces are kept in line at municipal elections as though national issues were always at stake. If a scheme of government by bi-partisan boards can ever be tolerable it must be in a community, the calm political spirit of which will permit these boards to become non-partisan—as Mr. Roosevelt proposes to make the New York police board—but in a community where party spirit burns hot, as it does in Cincinnati, the results from this device for municipal misgovernment are sure to be bad.

There never is much danger of maladministration in offices having large payments to make, because the officers upon whom

this duty devolves are usually careful to surround themselves with capable and experienced assistants, and the auditor's office in the city of Cincinnati, formerly the comptroller's office, is probably as well administered as any office of that kind anywhere. This office issues warrants as it is directed by the board of administration, and these warrants are paid by the city treasurer in due course. If there is anything wrong about any of the payments the trouble is not in either of the ministerial offices, but should be sought for in that board which makes contracts and gives the directions.

The bi-partisanship of the board of administration has, of course, made necessary a partisan division of its large patronage, with an increase in the pay-rolls naturally demanded by other considerations than the necessity of the service to be performed.

If a place is to be filled, each branch of the board wants it, with the result that two men are often appointed when the work could be done by one.

Of the administration and execution of the law by the board of fire commissioners I have known of no complaint.

Our fire department seems to do its duty well and sustain its old reputation for pre-eminent excellence.

The board of supervisors and the board of elections have earned general approval for their conscientious and impartial discharge of the duties imposed upon them, by being nearly non-partisan in spite of their bi-partisanship.

In the police department under the law of 1886 the mayor makes all appointments, subject to the approval of the commissioners, who alone may make vacancies upon finding good cause after full investigation, at which the accused has the right to be heard.

Not having the power of appointment the police board has not been tempted to make vacancies without sufficient reason, and though the appointments made by the mayor are undoubtedly dictated by his superior, who rules Cincinnati from behind the throne, still, as the mayor has no chance to make vacancies,

he is only able to make the few appointments which are the result of death and resignation.

The law provides that all positions of higher grades in the force shall be filled by promotion from the ranks, and, as a basis for these promotions, written and oral examinations are held. These, together with the physical and other examinations which have been established by the board for ascertaining the fitness of candidates for appointment, have had the effect of improving the character of the force until it is probably, in its rank and file, one of the best in the country.

To sum it up the administration of the government of Cincinnati by the system of bi-partisan boards, to which, with the mayor, are entrusted its municipal powers, has been satisfactory in most particulars. The evil of this system, however, consists in the fact that it puts the city, more completely than is possible under any other system, into the power of its unofficial ruler. By means of the patronage of the bi-partisan boards, whose members from both parties are appointed by his servant, the mayor, he is able to control the nominees of both parties.

If the nominees on his own party ticket are very bad, he can make the others worse if necessary. Having a well-established majority under normal conditions he is able to thwart the designs of municipal reformers by the trust which he has formed with the hungry manager of the minority party through the aid of the municipal spoils and the bi-partisan system, the result being that the offices are filled, except in rare instances, by men much below the proper standard.

The statute originally contemplated only a physical examination for applicants, but the first board, under the provision that it must confirm the nomination of the mayor, established the additional examinations which have since been adhered to and amplified.

The merit of the law lies in the fact that the appointing power and the power to determine what is cause for dismissal are not vested in the same authority.

Under the law, as it has been administered, a policeman, from the time he is sworn in, cannot be debarred from obtaining the highest position in the force, except by his own inefficiency or misconduct. If he is honest, capable, industrious and obedient, he has an assured position for life, with provision for his wants if he is sick, and a pension awaiting his old age.

These are the factors which produce good servants and faithful service.

One of the latest appointments to this board excites apprehension among those who wish to see our police force retain its present high standard, because of the indications that it was dictated by that power to which I have referred, which absolutely controls all appointments made in Hamilton County.

Should it ever happen that the same influence should dominate both the mayor and the police board so as to cause them to make vacancies and appointments to suit their mutual political needs, then the end of the efficiency of the system will be near.

There is a worthy organization in Cincinnati having for its nominal object the improvement of municipal conditions, whose leaders believe that all other citizens should yield to their ideas in the matter of the observance of the first day in the week. This organization has recently been directing its efforts toward procuring the enforcement of the Sunday closing laws, and the result has been, I fear, to strengthen the hold which our unofficial and unauthorized ruler has upon us by antagonizing another large class of citizens who are most sensitive to any infringement of their personal liberties.

Undoubtedly an unenforced law is a blot upon the statute book, but there are many such among the statutes of Ohio which good sense requires should be treated as dead letters.

For example, the law against profanity, Section 7,031 of the Revised Statutes, making the fine for this offense one dollar; originally the penalty was only twenty-five cents.

Admitting the gravity of this offense, the non-enforcement of this law is hardly a cause for public discontent, nor would it

be well to ask the legislature to repeal the law and thus apparently approve of that offensive habit.

So it is with the laws relating to the first day of the week.

Our state constitution and the enunciations of our supreme court tell us distinctly that these laws are nothing more than a protection to that part of the community which observes that day as hallowed to religious observances from disturbance and annoyance. It is the glory of our country that the right to believe in any particular religion, without any molestation on account thereof, is guaranteed to every one, and this principle can only be preserved by extending it equally to the unbeliever.

No power over things spiritual has ever been delegated to the legislature of Ohio. It has control only over things temporal, and these laws are not religious enactments, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, but mere police regulations whose validity is neither strengthened or weakened by the fact that the day of rest enjoined is the first day of the week.

We need the assistance, to procure any legislation which will better our city governments, of that class of citizens who resent the enforcement of these laws as an apparent attempt by the law-making power to control things spiritual, but so long as these citizens believe that municipal reform means the enforcement of such laws, just so long will they give no aid to those who call themselves municipal reformers.

The man who controls the management of the business of the city of Cincinnati is like all others who are able to achieve great success in that trade, a man of ability, quick to seize and take any advantage of any weakness in the position of his opponents. So when the Municipal Reform League set out on its crusade for the Sunday closing of saloons and beer gardens, he tried to shape the result as to make it appear that the enforcement of Sunday laws is all that is meant by municipal reform.

The local Civil Service Reform Association, which a few months ago was stirred into new life, hopes to procure the necessary statutory enactments which will carry the principles of the merit system to municipal offices, or at least procure fixity

of tenure, the one of those principles which has produced such good results in the police department.

There is no doubt that the first bad results of the present system of bi-partisan municipal government by the spoilsmen for the spoils is to be found at the primaries. Here the machine politician and his henchmen do the work on which the whole structure of their success is built. If the will of the people could be expressed at the primaries there would be an end to our municipal ills. Then the nominations would seek the candidates—not the candidates the nominations—but so long as the patronage can be used as a reward for political service and so long as dismissals for partisan reasons are possible, so long will those who make politics their business in our large cities continue to control the primary elections in spite of any system that can be devised by the wit of man.

The good citizens attend the primaries until discouraged by the futility of their efforts against the trained forces which are arrayed against them.

The history of every municipal reform movement in the country proves that the taxpayers cannot beat the bosses at the primaries so long as they are armed with the patronage, except at rare intervals, when the wrongs of the taxpayers have aroused them to efforts which cannot be sustained.

The indictment of the municipal spoils system may be drawn in four counts, as follows:

1. It is absolutely senseless, because there is no governmental policy to be carried out, but only the city's business to be done in a business-like way.
2. It degrades municipal politics so as to shut out those best fitted to hold office, by making it a mere matter of bargain and sale.
3. It enables the gangsters to control the primaries by giving them the money of the taxpayers, as represented by the patronage, to use as their campaign funds.
4. It paralyzes the service which the public receives, be-

cause no servant can take pride in his work and try to learn to do it well if he is liable to be discharged at any moment without reference to his honesty or industry.

The people of Chicago were able, by a combined effort, to carry the necessary reform legislation triumphantly through their legislature and to secure its adoption at their municipal election last month. If this law is enforced there will be such a wonderful improvement in the government of Chicago that it will become a beacon light to show all other cities the true course to the haven of complete municipal reform.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF COLUMBUS.

D. E. WILLIAMS.

There is a law in force in this state which requires the managers of the Ohio Penitentiary to apportion the one hundred or more guards of that institution among the several counties of the state in proportion to the population, including Indians not taxed, or something of that kind. The enforcement of this law results in bringing to the Capital City a new force of guards whenever there is a change in the state administration. The old force hangs around for two or more years hunting for jobs in the police or fire departments of the city, or as campaign hustlers pensioned upon the political executive committees. They wait patiently about, hoping that the whirligig of politics will speedily restore their party and themselves to position. This law should have been entitled: "An act to increase the number of politicians in cities of the first grade of the second class."

The state officers, members of the legislature, and their clerks and employees, after living for a short time among our people, gradually come to know what life really is. They have their eyes opened to its beauties, its pleasures; they stop singing, "I'm but a pilgrim here;" they grow more cheerful, and soon begin to look around for a home where they can enjoy for the rest of their lives their suddenly acquired wealth. Life in the remote counties of the state loses its charm; they love to be near the throne, the seat of government.

It used to be a serious question with the people of Columbus what disposition should be made of the ex-convicts when discharged from the Ohio Penitentiary. Repeatedly bills were introduced in the legislature, at the earnest solicitation of our people, requiring the convicts, upon the expiration of their terms, to be sent back to the counties from which they hailed, and which they had the honor to represent.

The members of the legislature from the distant counties of the state, fearing competition for their seats in the next general assembly, would almost unanimously oppose the measure. Those of them who were afraid to face their constituents, and had determined to live in the capital, would vote against the measure, possibly for the reason that they desired congenial society in their new home. Notwithstanding this opposition, the measure did finally pass, and now a detective is always at hand when a convict is discharged to see that the law is enforced, and the county entitled to an increase of population gets it.

It has been suggested that the foregoing were not the real reasons why this measure was opposed so vigorously by the average member of the legislature. It is intimated that they looked upon it simply as an entering wedge, to be followed by another law that would require members of their own body, state officers and employees, to be sent back to face their constituents upon the expiration of their terms of service. This reform lies in the immediate future. The turning loose upon our city every year of a large body of state officials and employees, members of the legislature, clerks and penitentiary guards, with no provision for sending them back to the counties from which they came, will have to be changed. In the earlier reforms the obstacles were not insurmountable. The ex-convicts were reasonably sure of a welcome home; they were at least not afraid to go home. The impending reform may not be so easily accomplished. A compromise might be effected by which the ex-official would not be required to go back to his constituents, provided he would leave the state.

Until some such provision is made our city will continue to be a city of office holders and ex-office holders, of statesmen and retired statesmen, of citizens, who are liable at any moment to break out with their old disease of itch for office. It will continue to be infested with an excess of professional politicians who go about seeking for something political to devour, such as state, county or municipal office. Being in the habit of attending to the business of the public it is difficult for them to attend

to matters of private concern. They naturally and instinctively turn their attention to matters of state. They are ready and willing at all times to render public service for a consideration.

We do not wish to be understood as saying that there are not some very respectable law-abiding ex-convicts residing in the city of Columbus. Men who have reformed and become good citizens. We can say as much also for some ex-state officials, ex-members of the legislature and ex-employees of state institutions. Some of these have reformed, and are actually received in so-called good society. They are even trusted and employed by well-meaning citizens of a philanthropic disposition. The removal of some of them from our city would be a serious and irreparable loss.

The foregoing facts would lead one to infer that the death rate of our city is low. Vital statistics show that it is the most healthy city of its size in the entire country. The fact that very few office holders die has probably as much to do with its good showing in this matter of mortality as cleanliness of the streets. There being no demand for politicians and office holders in either of the other worlds they are permitted to remain and become standing advertisements of the state capital as a health resort.

Our superabundance of politicians has resulted in frequent appeals to the legislature by the party happening, for the time being, to control it to reorganize the city government and thus capture by legislative act what could not be obtained by local consent. These legislative rapes of our municipal government, whether by accident or design, have operated in the direction of reform, and have resulted advantageously to the city as well as to the financial advantage of some of the members of the legislature.

Every attempt that has been made to gain undue advantage with the aid of the legislature in changing our form of government has, in fact, resulted in a change for the better. Not necessarily that we have had better officers or better government, but by the process of centralization of power and simplification of

machinery the people know better where to locate responsibility.

Prior to April 3, 1890, the city government of Columbus was of a very primitive character. We had a mayor, who, in addition to being the ornamental head of our city, also discharged the duties of police judge and prosecutor. He was *ex officio* a member of the police board, the tax commission, the trustees of the public library and the park commission. He was then, as now, elected for a term of two years, and required to be a resident of the city. In addition to what he could make out of police court fines, forfeitures and costs, he received a salary of \$800 per year. His enforcement of law and ordinances depended, to a certain extent, upon his financial condition. If his gold reserve fell below a certain figure he would order his chief of police to raid the dives of the city, and thus render unnecessary a bond issue. If he desired a re-election his manipulation of his court and police was an exceedingly effective agent in bringing about the desired end.

The water works were in the hands of a board of trustees, elected by the people; in fact, it was practically an entirely independent body. It made an annual report to the Council, and it also notified the City Council when and where it proposed to lay pipe lines. It collected and disbursed its own funds. The City Council, however, provided by ordinance for such bond issues as it required for the extension of the water systems and for refunding purposes.

The police board had supervision of the police and sanitary departments; had power to fix salaries, appoint and remove patrolmen and establish all the regulations governing that department. Its members were elected by the people. It had a clerk, who also acted as clerk of the police court, and by check on the city treasurer disbursed all its funds.

The trustees of the public library also exercised complete control over that institution, disbursing its own funds. The Franklin Park Commission, consisting of the mayor and four other members, two from the city and two from the county out-

side of the city, was another independent board, controlling its own funds, electing its own clerk and attending to its own business. It was entirely independent of supervision by the City Council. The trustees of the sinking fund and the tax commissioners, two separate and distinct boards, were appointed by the judges of the court of common pleas. They exercised then exactly the same powers and performed exactly the same duties as they do at present.

The City Council was a body elected by the people, two members from each ward. They received no salary. Each member then, as now, was required to be a resident of the ward he represented. This body was composed of twenty-eight members, divided into about forty-two committees, each of which constituted a little executive board to transact, subject to the authority of Council, the business pertaining to the department indicated by its name. For instance, the committee on fire department, the business of the fire department; the committee on street cleaning, the business of cleaning streets; the committee on lighting, the business of lighting the city; the committee on sewers and drainage, the business pertaining to sewers, &c. The Council also had the power to levy all taxes and assessments, and thus frequently crippled by inadequate levies of taxes outside boards of opposite politics. This, in fact, became its custom. Being a body of politicians, and having the power to re-district the city into wards, it saw to it very carefully that its political complexion should never be changed. The city was so gerrymandered that the political complexion of the Council has remained the same ever since 1880, although in that time the party in control has only elected two mayors. It is now so fixed that the opposite party cannot expect to capture it before 1906. This seizure of the city government by the Council led the opposite party on two occasions to appeal to the legislature for assistance. The first act designed to afford relief provided that the trustees of the sinking fund, a board of opposite politics to the Council, should re-district the city into wards. This act was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court.

The next act of a remedial nature passed on April 3, 1890. It stripped the City Council of its executive power and created a board of public works in which they vested it. This was the first radical step taken in the change of our municipal government. It had, however, some glaring defects. It did not go far enough. It should have also abolished the police board and turned over to the new board all its powers and duties. This omission gave it a very pronounced partisan tinge. It left this board in existence because its political complexion was the same as that of the legislature. The failure to abolish this board was probably the thing that conduced more than anything else to the success of the next reorganizing legislative act.

The public dissatisfaction with the police management of the city became so great that the people demanded, and the politicians of the other party stood ready to give, a change in form. Among the good features of the act of 1890 was (1) its concentration in the board of public works of nearly all the important executive work of the city; (2) its leaving to the City Council only legislative work; (3) the creation of the office of city auditor, in which were concentrated all power to disburse the funds of the city, which had been done previously by the city clerk, the police clerk, the secretary of the water works, the secretary of the park commission and the trustees of the city library. It made the auditor and his bondsmen liable to the city for all illegal expenditures of public money, no matter by what body they might be authorized. It required the board of public works to meet every day and to devote their entire time and attention to the business of the city. If they failed to do this it was not the fault of the law.

It did not affect the status of the mayor. He was still left in the exercise of his powers of police judge and prosecutor. He was still a member of the police board, and, in company with the other members, could enforce the laws and ordinances of the city. The other police commissioners, however, did not owe him any allegiance. They were not his appointees. They were elected by the people. They could outvote him in the matter

of giving orders to the police in regard to the enforcement of laws and ordinances. If so disposed, or inclined, they could perform the duties required by their oath of office.

The old law made it the duty of the mayor and the old police board to: "At all times of the day and night, within the boundaries of the city, and as far as the board may deem necessary, for the welfare of the city, within the county, preserve the public peace, prevent crime, arrest offenders, protect rights of persons and property, guard the public health, preserve order, remove nuisances existing in streets, roads, places and highways, report all leaks or other defects in water pipes and sewers to the proper authorities, provide a proper force at every fire in order that thereby the firemen and property may be protected, protect strangers and travelers at steamboat and ship landings and railway stations, and generally obey and enforce all ordinances of the City Council, criminal laws of the state and of the United States."

These powers and duties are, under our new law, vested in the director of public safety, who is himself the creature of the mayor, and wholly subject to his power. The Act of April 3, 1890, which reorganized the city government, could not in the political nature of things remain in force very much longer than that party controlled the legislature. In the fall of 1891 the political complexion of the legislature changed. Immediately the out-of-job politicians of our city formulated a bill calculated to capture all the offices of the government, including the police force, which had remained unchanged under the former act. The precise nature of the bill was kept secret until the first day of the next session of the general assembly, when it was introduced as House Bill, No. 7. Only six bills got in ahead of it. It was of such a radical nature that it had a very rough voyage. Instead of being enacted into a law within a week after its introduction, as its promoters intended and expected, it was assailed upon every hand as not being an improvement upon the law in force. The attack upon it was so vigorous, and *such persuasive*

arguments were used upon just the right number of the members of the Senate, that it failed to pass during that session.

In the meantime, the president of the Board of Trade, William F. Burdell, issued a call for a convention, to be composed of delegates from each ward in the city, to formulate a charter that would meet the requirements of the advocates of good government, and at the same time be fair to all the people without regard to political affiliations. The delegates were elected, met in convention, and after long and faithful service produced a bill, not as good as many of the members desired, but as good as could be obtained from a body, a large number of whom were politicians, office holders and ex-office holders, who had axes to grind. This bill so framed was the basis of our present law. It was so modified by the politicians who controlled its passage through the legislature that it should not take effect at once, but only as the terms of the members of the board of public works expired. It is still in process of coming into effect. It will be in full force on April 15, 1896. In the meantime the mayor cannot remove the incumbent whom the legislature said should remain in office to the end of the term for which he was elected. It took more care of the individual than of the public.

It finally passed on March 7, 1893. As is usual in such cases, a legislative act is not regarded as valid until the supreme court of the state, which is supposed to be out of politics, says so. It would be regarded as a reflection upon that court's intelligence and integrity not to permit it to pass upon the constitutionality of an act that throws out of employment one set of officers and installs a new. The court, on June 13th, finally pronounced it valid, and the change of form and a slight change of officers took place. This law, known in our city as the Charter Law (Vol. 90, Ohio Local Laws, page 136), provides: "The legislative power and authority shall be vested in a Council, which shall consist of one member from each ward, who shall serve for a term of two years. Each member receives a salary of five dollars per meeting. The Council is given power to provide, by ordinance, for the appointment of such officers as

may be necessary for the enforcement of all provisions of law or ordinance relating to markets, city scales, sealing of weights and measures, consumption of smoke and the examination of stationary engineers; to establish and maintain a police force, to consist of a superintendent and such subordinate officers and patrolmen as it shall, from time to time, deem necessary, and fix their compensation; a fire force, to consist of a chief of such force and such subordinate officers and members as it shall, from time to time, deem necessary, and fix their compensation.

"To provide for the appointment of a health officer, who shall be a physician, and such other physicians and subordinate officers as may be necessary to secure the inhabitants of such cities from the evils of contagious, malignant and infectious diseases, and shall prescribe their duties and fix their compensation."

The Charter Law also provides: "The executive power and authority shall be vested in the mayor, the heads of departments and such officers as shall be created by law or appointed by virtue of this act. There shall be a mayor, police judge and a clerk of the police court, who shall be chosen by the electors in the manner provided by law.

"The board of public works shall consist of four members, and shall, as the terms of the present incumbents expire, be appointed by the mayor. The term of office of any member of said board shall not extend beyond the term for which the mayor so appointing him is elected. Members of said board shall also be the heads of departments. The mayor shall, at the time of the appointment of each member of said board, designate which of the four departments said member shall have charge of as director. Each member of said board shall receive a salary of \$3000 per annum. Said board shall have all the power and perform all the duties vested in the board of public works as heretofore established. It shall have stated meetings at least once each week. There shall be the following departments: First, department of law; second, department of accounts; third, department of public safety; fourth, department of public improvements. Each of said directors, before enter-

ing upon the duties of his office, shall give bond according to law in the sum of \$25,000, excepting, however, the director of accounts, who shall give bond according to law in the sum of \$50,000. Such bonds to be approved by the mayor and Council. The mayor shall receive a salary of \$4000 per annum, and no officer shall receive pay for services when absent from the city more than two weeks at any time in any year. The mayor and the heads of the several departments shall devote their entire time to the duties of their respective offices, and shall hold no other offices."

It will thus be seen that the government of Columbus at present is an approximation to the so-called federal plan. We have an executive, a legislative and a judicial department. The executive department consists of a mayor, elected by the people on the first Monday of April, for a term of two years. He appoints the heads of the four departments of law, accounts, of public safety and of public works without interference from any other department, that is, without being subject to the approval of the City Council. These heads of departments are appointed for a term of two years, or until the expiration of the mayor's term. His appointees cannot embarrass a succeeding mayor by holding over.

The mayor can also at any time he is so disposed remove any head of a department appointed by him at will. In other words, he is clothed with full and ample power to give the city as good or as bad a government as he sees fit or knows how. This absolute power of appointment, coupled as it is with power to remove at will any of his appointees, takes away from the mayor the last vestige of excuse for evasion of the performance of his legal duties. He can at the time he makes an appointment take from his appointee a written resignation of the office, to be accepted at his pleasure.

This, we are advised, our present mayor has done. This gives the people a perfectly clear, unclouded right to hold the mayor of our city absolutely responsible for the execution or non-execution of our laws and ordinances. If he permits a

director of public safety, who controls the police department of the city, to continue in office, and at the same time this director fails, for instance, to cause the saloons to close at midnight, or on Sunday, as the city ordinance requires, we are not only free to assume that that is the policy of the mayor himself, but we are bound to so assume. If the director of public safety permits gambling establishments to flourish, and at the same time his written resignation of his office is in the hands of the mayor, unaccepted, we have a right to assume—yes, we are bound to assume—that the existence of this vice meets the approval of the head of the city government, or at least that he does not intend to disturb or suppress it.

This enables the electors of our city to vote intelligently. They have only one matter to consider. They can find out in advance of the election what they want, can put up a candidate that will give them what they want, and cast their votes for him undisturbed by other issues. Strictly carried out this would result in every man being his own candidate.

In addition to his absolute power of appointing and removing the members of his cabinet, the mayor is also clothed with the veto power over the act of the City Council. Every ordinance, resolution or order involving an expenditure of money, or the approval of a contract for the payment of money, or for the purchase, sale, lease or transfer of property; or granting a franchise, or creating a right, or levying any tax, or imposing any fine, penalty or forfeiture before it takes effect has to be presented, duly certified by the clerk, to the mayor of the city for approval. The mayor, if he approves such ordinance, resolution or order, signs it, but if he does not approve it he returns the same to the Council, with his objections, within ten days thereafter, or if the Council is not in session then at the next regular meeting thereafter, which objections the Council causes to be entered in full on its journal, and if he does not return the same within the time above limited it takes effect in the same manner as if he had signed it. He can also approve or disap-

prove the whole or any item or part of any ordinance, resolution or order appropriating money.

The new law is not yet in full force. The mayor, elected last month, only had power to appoint three of the members of his cabinet, the directors of law, of accounts and of public safety. He cannot, before next April, appoint his director of public works. It is only since the last election that the mayor has become clothed with sufficient power to make him the real head of the city government and responsible for its management.

Since April 15th an air of business pervades the city hall. There is no longer a playing at government. Measures are being looked into and examined by the mayor as they have never been by his predecessors. The reckless granting of franchises without consideration has probably ceased. Heads of departments will be required to devote some of their time to the duties of their respective offices. Mere figure heads will no longer be conspicuous. While ring politicians are suspected of exercising too much power in dictating appointments, it is yet too early to pronounce judgment. The Constitutions of the state and of the United States are being observed in not requiring religious tests as qualifications for appointment to office.

While certain classes are complaining of too much leniency in the enforcement of some laws and ordinances, they remember that one of the chief merits of our form of government is the fact that majorities rule, and can by means of the ballot obtain a realization of their desires. Future measures of reform in our fundamental law will probably lie in the direction of creating the separate office of city treasurer, and clothing him with power, in addition to his present duties, to collect all such assessments, water rents and other moneys as are now collected by sundry city officials. The terms of all city officials will probably be made to terminate at the same time, and annual elections give way to biennial. Our city debt, which increased at an average rate of more than one million dollars per year during the five years ending in 1892, is now under control, and will rapidly diminish under a proper application of the veto power by a busi-

ness mayor. The tax rate will decline from two dollars and ninety cents to two dollars and seventy cents the present year as a result of the reduction in the levy made for interest and sinking fund purposes, and further reductions may be made by other departments. The outlook is bright for a rigidly economical administration.

So far as form is concerned, our government is about what it should be. It is now more largely a question of men. It might be well to institute compulsory service and disfranchise or double the taxation of the voter who declined an appointment or refused to accept office. The same amount of service should be required for a certain salary as is required in mercantile business. All snaps should be eliminated, and civil service reform methods govern in subordinate positions.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF PITTSBURG AND ALLEGHENY.

HON. WILLIAM M. KENNEDY,
MAYOR OF ALLEGHENY.

The growing sentiment among the masses of the people for political reforms, and the lively interest manifested in all movements looking toward the securing of better government, especially in that of municipal affairs, is exceedingly gratifying to those who love a clean political fabric, and particularly to those who have awakened the people to a realizing sense of the importance of such movements, and through whose efforts and leadership so great advancement has been made within the past few years.

In city misgovernment lies the root of national corruption. The cities now dominate our national affairs to a marvelous degree. The political leaders of the day have received their training in the direction of city politics, and until our municipalities have been placed in the keeping of honest, faithful servants, there can be little hope of any material elevation of tone in national affairs. The administration of public affairs is never any better than the men who direct them, and for that reason there is no indication of a general reform in the political methods of the country until the individual cities and communities see to it that their local affairs are conducted with the same purity of motive and businesslike integrity and economy that characterize the conduct of private business.

There can be no doubt that a majority, a very large majority, of the people earnestly desire better government, but apathy, want of co-operation and a disinclination to participate actively in political contests prevent the average citizen from doing his duty in the securing of the very thing which is desirable, and

whose inconsistency is made manifest by the vehement manner in which he protests against the election of unworthy men whom he has made no effort to defeat as a candidate. Lulled into inactivity by the false notion that his vote is of no particular importance and cannot effect the general result, he refrains from going to the polls; but did he take but a small portion of the time in exercising his right of citizenship and urging his friends and neighbors to do so that he spends in denouncing the management of municipal affairs, his influence would count largely, and would be a leaven in the political loaf that would soon permeate the whole mass. The greatest obstacle in the way of better municipal government to-day is the lamentable fact that such a large proportion of the property owners and intelligent citizens generally neglect to vote, and yet there never was a combination of corrupt men manipulating public administration to their own ends so strong but that the people could overthrow it if they would but use their franchise right. This government of ours is a representative one, and the imperative obligation of citizenship is placed on every man, who is a unit therein, to exercise his right of franchise in a reasonable and patriotic manner, that the integrity and purity of the whole may be preserved. It is a blot on the character of our people that they hold suffrage so cheaply; a crime that calls for the disfranchisement of all those who habitually refuse to participate in the elections, and who in this way are insidiously weakening and corrupting what ought to be the strongest and purest government in the world.

Despite the evils yet to be overcome, it is marvelous the improvement that has been made in municipal government within the past ten years. Personally, I can speak particularly in regard to the cities of Pittsburg and Allegheny, as I am familiar with the workings of these cities under the old system as well as the present one, operating as we are under our new charter for second-class cities. Under the old system, previous to 1887, Pittsburg and Allegheny were officered by a mayor, treasurer, comptroller, poor board, which managed the city charities; police commissioners, managing the police; street commissioners, managing the streets; superintendent of water

works, controlling the water department of the city; and ward collectors, for the collection of delinquent taxes. All of these several officials were under the control of committees of Councils. It was a most pernicious system; wasteful in the extreme, and offering opportunities for corruption on every side. With the management of all these various sub-departments under the dictation of councilmanic committees, it is not to be wondered at that results were so poor and expenses so heavy.

Under our present method of city government we have a mayor, a comptroller and treasurer in Pittsburg, all of whom are elected by the people, and in Allegheny a mayor elected by the people and a treasurer and comptroller elected by Councils, but in all other respects our government is identical. We have a director of public works, under whose direction lies the management of the water works, city streets, sewers, electric lighting, markets, parks and all city property, with the exception of the engine-houses and patrol stations; a director of public safety, in whose charge are the police and fire departments, and a director of public charities, who controls the department of charities. These three directors have entire charge of their respective departments and hire and discharge all men employed therein.

Much as our municipal government has been improved we must meet the ever-present question: "What can we do to make it better?" That it is susceptible of further advancement and greater effectiveness is beyond a question. In my opinion one of the strongest answers to the query is to be found in "civil service." In public matters, as in private, the best results can only be attained through good service. If a man has ability and performs his duty intelligently and satisfactorily a change in administration should not work his removal except for cause affecting the proper discharge of the duties assigned him. Make fidelity to duty the touchstone for preferment in public office and let it be understood that politics cannot affect his position and the result will be that our city employees will reward the people with better service and the general standing of those who

serve the municipality will be considerably elevated both as to moral and intellectual worth.

At present the heads of the various departments of Allegheny and Pittsburg are elected by Councils, which I consider a mistake and one that may give rise to controversy as between the mayor and the heads of the departments. My opinion is that the heads of departments should be appointed by the mayor, as I fully believe in centralization in the administration of public affairs to as great a degree as is consistent with safety. While the mayor has no positive power in the departments mentioned, yet he is morally responsible for the conduct of the same, although they may be under the control of men whose appointment he could not approve. By making these officials appointees of the mayor there would then be someone whom the people could hold personally responsible for the choice. As it now is the chiefs are under the influence and domination of councilmen and are forced to place many men on their department rolls who are utterly unfit for duty, and all the while the power of the mayor is limited in correcting such abuses as he may see in the department, although held morally responsible by the people for their proper administration. If the mayor had the appointing of the chiefs of departments, who were free to make their selection of subordinates without undue influence from councilmen, and dereliction in duty and mismanagement of their department would properly react upon the appointing power and the mayor would then have to assume the sole responsibility and answer to the people.

All revolution and change in political methods must come primarily from the people in whom is vested the voting power, which requires the first work to be done among the voters, and here education is absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of lasting and rational results. I believe firmly in the formation of civic clubs, whose purpose it is to impress on every citizen the importance of his doing his full duty at the polls, and particularly at the primaries, as it is here the first test of competency and worthlessness is made, and on the result of the issue here

depends the evil or good effect of the final election. It is a fact, we must admit, that in most cities the nomination at the primaries is almost equivalent to election, and yet the primaries are most shamefully neglected by the better classes of our citizens, and are consequently under the direction of the most vicious element in our politics. Civic clubs, I believe, could do a wonderfully effective work in this direction, as it is a demonstrated fact that when the people turn out *en masse* to do battle with corruption the struggle is a short and decisive one which is always on the side of the right. The main point is to get the voters out; that done, it is safe to trust the result of the issue to the good sense of the American people, who will not fail to select the best available material for public service. The various organizations now in operation in many of our cities have done and are doing a splendid work in elevating the politics of the country and vastly improving the municipal affairs of their community. Of our local organizations, I must call particular attention to the work done by the Ladies' Health Protective Association of Pittsburg and Allegheny. This organization has accomplished the most valuable results in the betterment of public health and comfort in the past few years by their indefatigable efforts. Their work is done in a reasonable, business-like way; quietly, but persistently. Through their efforts is due our garbage ordinance for the collection of the garbage of the city, which is certainly one of the best ordinances we have ever passed for the good health of the entire community. Their persevering work for the cleanliness of the streets and street cars; the abatement of the smoke nuisance, and in fact everything affecting the health of the people, shows a growing sentiment in this direction which cannot help but bear rich fruit. Let the men bestir themselves, and with properly conducted, energetic civic clubs making an aggressive movement, seconded by the quiet moral influence of the women, the handwriting on the wall of corruption's banquet hall will soon appear, and notice served that only the best material must be nominated for office and a government for the good of the people only will be permitted.

I am also of the opinion that a radical reduction in the number of councilmen would be an improvement. We now have in our cities one select councilman to each ward and one common councilman to every five hundred and fifty taxables. Formerly we had two select councilmen to each ward, but since the new law has effected a reduction in the number, the improvement is so marked that it is evident a corresponding reduction in our common branch would be equally beneficial. The fewer members there are to elect the better is the opportunity for the selection of strong and worthy men. Public business would be attended to with greater dispatch, and the voters would know where to place the responsibility for any unwise legislation attempted.

There are a few points which I wish to dwell upon particularly, and which in my experience as chairman of public works committee and afterwards as mayor of Allegheny seem to me to be important subjects for the attention of all civic organizations; matters to which the people at large give little attention and yet they contribute directly to their health and comfort. The water question of a city is a most important one, and joined to the question of water supply is that of the pollution of the streams. Nothing is so absolutely important to the welfare of the whole community as the water it drinks. It is the one thing we cannot dispense with, the imperative necessity of life and health for which there is no substitute, and yet, strange to say, it is the one matter in city life that is most neglected in nearly every community. As long as people can step to a hydrant and draw their water supply without trouble they never seem to consider the source of the supply or the filth with which the water they are drinking may be impregnated. It is only when threatened with a great epidemic like cholera that they become conscious of the situation and give it any concern. Let the people realize that the deaths each year from typhoid fever, for which polluted streams are largely responsible, are more than from the worst epidemic of cholera we have ever known in this country, and there will be no difficulty in securing legis-

lation for the protection of the streams and the procuring of a better water supply for our cities. This is not a question of cost, but one of life and health itself, and deserves the first consideration in all municipal bodies. In fact it is of such vital importance that I believe the matter of stream pollution should be made a national question.

Hand in hand with the water supply of a city comes the careful consideration of the sewage question. Fine streets and parks are a desideratum in every city, but should only be considered as secondary to a complete and scientific sewage system, which it is the right and duty of the people to demand from those conducting municipal affairs, and that city fails dismally in its possibilities which neglects to see to it that its water supply and sewage systems are not improved and kept fully in pace with the growth of the community.

Nothing gives the residents of a city more pleasure, and is their just boast, than clean streets and pavements. The old cobble-stone pavement is a relic of the past. The rough surface holding in its grasp the festering filth of the street, not to mention the excessive cost of maintenance and destruction of vehicles, has passed into oblivion in every well-regulated city of to-day, and in their place we have the smooth surface of the asphalt or block pavements, which offer every opportunity for the speedy and complete collection of the refuse on our thoroughfares. I firmly believe that it is the duty of the city to collect the garbage of the city both on the streets and elsewhere, as I am convinced that by so collecting it in proper vehicles and disposing of the same in some systematic manner, such as steaming or cremating, thus destroying the disease germs, the general health of the city would be greatly enhanced. Experience has taught that in cities where the municipal collection of the garbage is not attended to the people generally deposit their filth and offal on vacant lots, in the cellars of their homes and in the public sewers, there to fester and foul the air, an eyesore to decency and a detriment to all.

In conclusion I would add one suggestion. It is quite

certain that we have already too many laws and not enough enforcement. As Hamlet says,

It is a custom

More honored in the breach than in the observance.

And so it is. We have good laws in plenty, but it is the disregard of the sacredness of the laws and the indifference of the people to their observance which gives rise to so much of the corruption of the day. It is not in the law, but in the observance thereof that the virtue lies. Let us have fewer laws looking for the end to be attained, but made with due consideration and care, and then insist on a strict obedience to their requirements without fear or favor; then, and then only, can we expect to stand on a sound political basis.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF BUFFALO.

FRANK M. LOOMIS,PRESIDENT, BUFFALO GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUB COUNCIL.

The government of Buffalo, like that of most American cities, is hybrid in form. The heads of some departments are elected, and an increasing number are appointed in accord with the drift of public opinion in that direction. The revised charter of 1891 conferred largely increased powers of appointment on the mayor, and the executive departments are now constituted as follows:

The mayor, elected for a term of four years. A department of public works under the control of three commissioners, one of whom is elected and the other two appointed by the mayor from among the adherents of opposing political parties. Each commissioner holds office for three years, and each receives a salary of \$5000. Included in this department are four bureaus, each in charge of a single executive officer. The functions of these executives may be gleaned from their official titles, viz., chief engineer, water superintendent, superintendent of streets, superintendent of buildings.

Prior to the enactment of the revised charter these bureaus were separate departments, and the heads of two of them, the chief engineer and superintendent of streets, were elected. Department of police, consisting of the mayor, *ex officio*, and two commissioners appointed by the mayor, and adherents of opposing political parties. The superintendent of police and other subordinates are appointed by this board. Department of fire, consisting of three commissioners appointed by the mayor. Not more than two of them have the same political affiliations. They receive no compensation except a per diem of five dollars for every meeting of the board which they attend, not exceeding in all

\$500 a year. Department of health, at the head of which is the health commissioner, who is appointed by the mayor, and who holds office for five years. To a limited extent his acts are subject to supervision by the board of health, which consists of the mayor, the president of the board of public works and the health commissioner. Department of parks, consisting of the mayor, *ex officio*, and fifteen commissioners appointed by the mayor. These commissioners serve without compensation.

The heads of all other departments are elected, and include the comptroller, treasurer, corporation counsel, five assessors, overseer of the poor, and singular as it may seem, the superintendent of education. A board of school examiners appointed by the mayor pass upon the qualifications of applicants for positions as school teachers, but the whole list of eligibles is certified to the superintendent, who can make his appointments therefrom without regard to any candidate's standing on such list.

The legislative department, or Common Council, is composed of two branches, the board of aldermen, consisting of one representative elected from each of the twenty-five wards in the city, and a board of councilmen, composed of nine members elected from the city at large. The right of initiative rests with the board of aldermen.

The judiciary are all elected, including the police justices.

There is also the civil service commission, consisting of fifteen members, no more than eight of whom belong to one political party. They serve without compensation, but \$2300 is appropriated to pay the salaries of a secretary and assistant, and other expenses.

This, in brief, is the form of Buffalo's government. It is a compromise of opposing views, and like all compromises does not quite satisfy any one. In some respects the partial change from an elective to an appointive system has been productive of good results. In the matter of street cleaning there has been a marked improvement since the street department was made one of the bureaus of the department of public works, but there has

been a commensurate increased expense. This, also, is true of the department of health. The fire department is very efficient. The police department has been the subject of frequent and oftentimes just censure, but under the spur of criticism there has been a noticeable improvement.

As before stated, the heads of the educational department and the department of law are elected, and the present incumbents are efficient public servants. But this has not always been so, nor has it often been so during my twenty years' residence in Buffalo; and assuredly these officials ought to be appointed rather than elected. Recently there has been a vigorous agitation in favor of an unsalaried appointive school board, which in turn shall appoint the superintendent of education, the scheme in its essential details being that of President Draper (with which you are doubtless familiar). It is needless to enlarge upon this matter, as thus far we have only a record of failure to report, the politicians, aided by the large army of the uninformed, having won the opening skirmish.

The only unsalaried officials in the city's employ are the civil service commissioners and the park commissioners. But none have a better record for efficiency; and no others, I say it advisedly, show an equally unselfish devotion to their official duties.

Among the projected reforms this year is the introduction of the Boston system for the registration of laborers, which until now has been barred by the parsimony of our Common Council, the whole appropriation for civil service examinations, including the secretary's salary, having been until this year less than \$1000. The establishment of this registration system, and an added rigidity to the rules governing promotions in the various departments are all that is needed to place Buffalo's civil service on a par with any in the land. The civil service law is rigidly and honestly enforced. Another is the use of the Myers' Ballot Machine in our elections. The mayor favors the idea, and the Common Council committee having the matter most di-

rectly in charge evinces an intelligent and quite unexpected interest in the subject which promises well for the future.

One of the good things accomplished this year is the reform of our jury system. The salient features of the new system are the appointment of a commissioner of jurors by the judges of the courts, and the requirement that the commissioner shall place upon the jury list in the first instance the name of every person shown by the assessor's books to have the necessary property qualifications. The commissioner may, or rather must, erase subsequently the names of those whom he deems mentally or morally deficient, but must annotate opposite each name stricken off the reason therefor. It must be obvious that this law, if honestly enforced, will prevent many esteemed compatriots from dodging jury service. We believe that it will also be effective in preventing the too frequent miscarriages of justice in our courts, especially in the trial of offenders against the election laws.

Last, but not least, in the estimation of many of us, is the inauguration of the good government club movement in Buffalo. It is a theme upon which I would gladly speak at length, but I have not time to do much more than name some of the minor, and yet essential, differences in our method of organization from that of either New York or Philadelphia.

First, while we call ourselves, and are good government club men, we have no club houses; neither do we ask or accept the hospitality of lady patrons for our club meetings, as is done in Philadelphia. We meet, as occasion requires, in halls, private schools, church guild or lodge-rooms. I may say, in passing, that we desired and endeavored to follow the precedent and example of New York in this matter, but for reasons needless to detail here found it impracticable to do so.

Second, in the organization of our ward clubs we have thus far admitted to membership all citizens interested in the cause of good government who would sign the membership pledge. This may seem, and I understand is regarded by some of our friends in New York, as foolhardy. Speaking from our

experience thus far, I can only say that we have not as yet been embarrassed by the intrusion of politicians; that the movement has been popularized in Buffalo by the method pursued, and that the discretionary power vested in the Council of Confederate Clubs in regard to the admission of new clubs to the Confederation is deemed to afford ample protection against the machinations of place-hunters.

It has been proposed, whether wisely or not, perhaps only experience can determine, to enlarge the scope of the clubs' work by contesting the regular party caucuses in the interest of good government. The theory and proposed method of procedure are briefly these: Upon the same principle that the population of a state or nation divides into political parties the adherents of a party, and especially a dominant party, divides into factions. In wards where the predominance of one party is so great as to make its nominations practically equivalent to an election it is proposed, in imitation of the course pursued in elections, to call a meeting of the Good Government Club of the ward to consider and discuss the qualifications of prospective candidates at the ensuing party caucus. At such Club meeting it is expected, and reasonably, I think, that the presence and counsel of the adherents of a different political party who have no interest in the factional fight as such will effectually bar any undue intrusion of factional feeling into the deliberations of the club. If, after a full free discussion, it is found that there is a practical unanimity of opinion among the club members favorable to the candidacy of any person it is proposed to support that person at the caucus as the Good Government Club candidate. This will mean not only the votes of such members of the club as can legally vote at the caucus, but the active co-operation of all club members, whatever their political affiliations, in getting out the vote of the ward.

Such in brief is the scheme, and it is as yet but a scheme; but it has been indorsed by some of the most earnest reformers and practical men in our city as being almost the only plan yet suggested by which the Good Government Club can be made an

influential factor in ward politics when the regular party vote is very unequally divided.

I have now stated with perhaps sufficient detail the form of Buffalo's government, its adaptation to our needs and the reforms contemplated. In so far as this has been done the duty assigned to me has been performed; but this paper would lack completeness without some more specific reference to the theory upon which our charter was framed, the tendencies, wise or otherwise, towards a change of system, and a statement of the opinions held, in which I shall assume to include my own, as to what changes are desirable.

And, first, it will be noted that with the exception of the health commissioner the single-headed departments are all elective; and that, with the exception of the elected board of assessors, all other departments are governed by three or more commissioners, appointed in whole or in part by the mayor, and that not more than a majority of the board belong to the same political party. At the time of the late revision of our city charter before alluded to only a small minority of the revisers, including, however, some of our best thinkers and most earnest reformers, favored the plan of having single appointive heads of departments; and there is no apparent prospect of this being done, at least in the immediate future. The only recent move in that direction has been an occasional suggestion that the corporation counsel ought to be appointed rather than elected. A lately-concerted plan, favored by a majority of our Common Council, to have a single elective head of the board of public works is accounted a reactionary move, rather than otherwise, being inimicable, as it is, to the idea of concentrating power and responsibility in the mayor. Reformers in Buffalo, as elsewhere, are agreed as to the need of combatting these decentralizing tendencies. They are practically united in the opinion that heads of departments should be appointed rather than elected; but many, perhaps a majority, are opposed to the idea that there should be but one appointive head.

Without being in any sense an advocate of bi-partisan

boards, or even of the high-salaried non-partisan commissions of Buffalo, I have to rank myself among those who do not regard the New York or Brooklyn plan, so-called, as an ideal one, nor even as the best practical solution of our municipal problem. In Brooklyn it has at times worked well, and then again it has worked very badly. I know of nothing in the municipal history of New York to warrant an assertion that the system, so far as it has been applied there, has been productive of particularly good results. Those who will, following the example of the New York *Evening Post*, may comfort themselves when things go wrong with the consoling reflection that the system is right and that the fault all lies with the voters. To me the varying experiences of New York and Brooklyn with this system teach rather a lesson of humility.

The scientist of this nineteenth century has reached the conclusion that the inductive process is the only sure method of progress. It is just possible, I think, that our municipal reformers might profit by the scientist's example and humbly listen to the teachings of experience instead of assuming to deduce a theory of municipal government by a process of analogical reasoning based upon an unwarranted and utterly unscientific assumption that the form of our national and state governments is necessarily fitted to our cities. The invitation extended to residents of different American cities to prepare and present on this occasion an outline of the form of government of their respective cities and the adaptability of the local needs is a step in the right direction. But it is conceded, I believe, even in New York and Brooklyn, that municipal government in this country is a failure.

I would suggest, therefore, in place of further theorizing, instead even of insisting, mistakenly as I think, upon checking emigration from foreign countries and, in further pursuance of the scientific inductive method, that we study the systems of European cities whence these immigrants come. What do we find there? First, we find that they have succeeded where we have failed. Next, and this is all important, we see democracy,

democratic principles, everywhere ascendant in the municipal governments. Instead of a mayor clothed with autocratic powers of appointment and removal we find in great cities like Birmingham, Manchester and Liverpool, in England; Edinburgh and Glasgow, in Scotland; Berlin, in Germany, an unsalaried Council elected from each ward, and in Berlin, at least, by free manhood suffrage, the mayor being little more than the presiding officer of the Council. We find each city department governed by a committee of this Council through a single appointed executive.

I would there were time to show in detail how it has been demonstrated by experience, not reasoned *a priori*, that this system while preserving, or rather establishing, the democratic type of municipal government, provides for all needed concentration of power and responsibility in a central body; and how this body, exercising only legislative and supervisory functions, through its various committees, insures executive efficiency by intrusting all purely executive work to single heads of departments.

I would, too, that there were time to show how by confining the electorate to members of the Council it has been found practicable to permit any eight electors to nominate a candidate and have his name placed upon the official ballot, thereby destroying the possibility of ring rule, and this without undue multiplicity of candidates.

But the limits of this paper preclude any enlargement upon the theme. As a practical suggestion I have simply to add that while we may not expect in the near future to see the powers of the mayor merged in a Council like that which governs European cities, we may well retain and build up, rather than abandon, such parts of our existing municipal systems as most closely resemble theirs. I refer specifically to our unsalaried, non-partisan (not bi-partisan) commissions, exercising strictly legislative and supervisory powers, and governing through a single appointed executive. The experience of Europe, and I may say of Buffalo, demonstrates the value and the need of the

supervision of city departments by such commissions, provided always that they are restricted from the exercise of executive functions, and provided also that the commissioners are unsalaried, so that the office may not be sought as a political prize. Despite aught that may be argued to the contrary, I assert as a matter of positive knowledge, based upon the experience of Great Britain, and again of Buffalo, that the absence of a salary is no impediment to obtaining the services of our very best citizens, provided only that the official duties are, as they ought to be, only legislative and supervisory. The opportunity afforded for public distinction is the only egotistic incentive needed.

It will be said, it is said, that such a system is un-American, because, forsooth, it is customary in America to pay high salaries for public service. And yet, the new democratic system of old England, was also the old democratic system of New England. It is un-American only in the sense that civil service reform is Chinese, and free trade English. Finally, it is pre-eminently the business system, modeled almost exactly after that of every business corporation, and as such, may well command the approval of those whose motto is that "municipal government is business, and not politics."

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF JERSEY CITY.

ISAAC N. QUIMBY, M. D.

Jersey City, geographically speaking, is one of the best located cities in the world, situated as it is opposite New York, on one of the most navigable bays and rivers on the continent. The largest ships can navigate or rest peacefully on the bosom of her waters. She is the termini of six or seven of the most important railroad lines of the country—the *entrepot* of the continent. At her gate you can take train or steamer and travel to every civilized country on the globe.

Jersey City was incorporated January 28, 1820. From 1820 to 1838 the government was vested in a board of five selectmen, whose president was chosen by the board. From 1850 to 1871 the municipal powers were invested in a mayor and board of aldermen, annually elected by the people, and I think that it will be observed that during all this time from 1820 to 1871, when the municipal powers were invested in mayor and aldermen, who were elected annually, that the affairs of the city were conducted better and with more economy and more in the interest of the welfare of the people than from 1871 to the present time.

In 1871 a new charter, modeled largely on the Tweed charter of New York, which was procured from the legislature, largely removed the city's affairs from the immediate control of the people to the legislature. This took away many of the powers of the mayor and board of aldermen and distributed them among various boards of commissioners, appointed by the legislature, greatly to the detriment of the welfare of the municipality, a flagrant violation of home rule.

I think when the investigation of the management of the affairs of Jersey City from 1871 to the present time shall be

made by the impartial historian and the character of the men considered who were instrumental in procuring the charter of 1871 it will be painfully evident that the charter was procured more in the interest of political rings and combinations and politicians who were in office for revenue only than in the good of the people. The result of these combinations is that the city's debt has been rapidly increased from about \$9,000,000 in 1871 to \$18,000,000, without a corresponding amount of benefit or improvement.

Jersey City was in the main well governed under the charter of 1850, except that during this period she was robbed of about seventeen miles of her water front, all but one small dock. This valuable water front, worth to-day from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 and of incalculable future value, through the stupidity, lack of foresight or fraud in weak officials and the combinations of the various railroad corporations, has been lost to this municipality. If Jersey City to-day possessed her rightful ownership in her water front, out of which she has been most unrighteously defrauded, her revenue from this source alone would almost be sufficient to run the city government.

The legislature of New Jersey, under the plea of raising money from free public schools, passed an act in 1864 which claimed all the land under water affected by tide. Under this law (which many of the most distinguished lawyers of the state have declared unconstitutional), a riparian commission was appointed by the governor.

This board of riparian commissioners have been selling in fee for the last thirty years, much of the low lands covered by tide water, thus robbing the shore owner of much of his water rights, franchise and privileges. Although a bill was introduced by Senator Daly of Hudson in the last legislature, to recover all the various franchises which were conveyed by the state riparian commissioners for a mere pittance to various corporations and individuals. Notwithstanding the justness of this bill nothing came of this measure, the railroad contingents being, as usual, in the majority in both branches of the legislature.

Jersey City's present form of government, a modification of the amended charter of 1871, is represented by a mayor; board of aldermen; finance, street and water commissioners; education, fire and police boards. The mayor's official term of office is five years. He has the power of appointing the finance board, except one member thereof, the president of the board of aldermen. He also has the power of appointing the education, fire and police boards.

The board of aldermen is elected by the people by districts, except one member elected at large. The mayor appoints the law officers of the city, the corporation counsel and attorney. The board of street and water commissioners has recently been made elective.

The only boards in the city which the mayor does not fully control is the board of street and water commissioners and the board of aldermen. The aldermen have very little power because the usual powers of such a board are distributed among the finance board, board of street and water commissioners, board of education; fire and police boards. This political distribution of power has been detrimental to the growth and development of the city. The powers of the city government outside of the mayor are substantially the boards of street and water commissioners.

The mayor having the appointment of the majority of the members of the board of finance, absolutely controls it, that is to say, he may control all appointments made by the finance board, such as the assessors and collector of taxes, with their employees. He controls the board of education, which controls the whole educational system of the government, the appointment of all teachers, and all other employees in this department. He controls the fire board, and all its employees, because he appoints all the members of the fire board and they are expected to carry out his wishes; he controls the police board and all its employees, because of a similar reason. He also appoints the board of assessors and the board of appeals. The mayor of

Jersey City is almost an absolute dictator for a period of five years.

I could not in the brief limit of this paper detail a model charter, but I will say that I believe that the municipality of Jersey City might be greatly improved and made more satisfactory to the people by again restoring power of government back to the board of aldermen, which is perfectly competent to make all laws and ordinances for the collections and disbursements of the taxes, for the regulation of the street and water departments, the management of the educational department and for the conduct of the fire and police boards. The board of aldermen should have power to appoint from their body the various sub-committees on streets, water, education, to serve as boards. It should be elected annually by the people by districts and be held answerable for the conduct and management of its several committees.

The board of finance should be composed of five discreet and experienced men, nominated by the mayor and confirmed by the board of aldermen. The tax assessors, city attorney and city counsel and commissioners of appeals should be elected annually. The mayor should be the chief executive officer of the city. He should appoint the employees in the fire, and he should appoint every employee in the police department, subject to confirmation by the board of aldermen, and have power to discharge them for cause only. He should be obliged to state the cause in writing, and if not a good cause or if the charges be frivolous his actions should be subject to review by one of the judges of the supreme court.

The three greatest enemies of the people of this country are: 1st. The combination of the various political demagogues, known before election as either Democrats or Republicans, but when elected as Democrats or Republicans are usually found in harmonious combinations irrespective of party; they are officers for revenue only and always have their thumbs up to the highest bidder. 2d. The combination of the manufacturers, retailers and sellers of liquors. The greater the magnitude and success

of their business the greater the corresponding increase of poverty and destruction of human enterprise. 3d. The people have reason to fear the aggregation and consolidation of capital which is being largely used in corrupting legislatures and other representative bodies which leads to machinations, conspiracies, municipal and legislative frauds.

The suggestion is here made that the simpler the form of municipal government and the closer the people keep the management of their affairs in their own hands by annual elections, the surer will be their control and the more prosperous will become the municipalities and of course the lighter their burdens.

The recent development of official combinations and gross frauds in all our large cities admonish us that the people must be continually on guard—must be more careful to whom they delegate the great powers of municipal government. Some of the municipalities and the people of New Jersey have been deprived and robbed of over fifty millions of dollars in franchises, in water ways, streets, etc., within the past thirty years. And at this time there is a determined and persistent effort being made to rob Jersey City and the state out of the great water shed of the Passaic River and its tributaries by a band of syndicate conspirators. These water syndicates would not dare to make these efforts at spoliation were it not for the fact that they feel assured that the municipal authorities will award the contract and accord them the right of municipal franchise they desire when an adequate inducement is offered.

Relief may be found, we believe, from official combinations and peculations by short terms of office and in the annual election of officials; so, therefore, if the voters find they have made a mistake and put in corrupt and dishonest men, they have a remedy in frequent elections. It has been aptly said by Mr. Lincoln that "*you can sometimes fool all the people, and all the time fool some of the people, but you cannot all the time fool all the people.*"

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF WASHINGTON.

FREDERICK L. SIDDONS.

A recent transatlantic visitor to these shores, whose blunt and candid criticisms of America and American institutions offended our vanity and put our proverbial hospitality to a rather severe test, commented in satirical vein upon the anomaly presented at the national capital in the matter of local government; and although there are very many good people in Washington who regard the present municipal government as quite the best in the country, none of them have seen fit to challenge the justness or accuracy of our critic's observations and he doubtless left Washington somewhat perplexed at (to quote the late Frederick Douglass) "the flat contradiction to all our professions" exhibited in the form of government provided for the District of Columbia by the omnipotent power of an act of Congress. Two explanations may be offered for the silence of those citizens of Washington who rejoice continually in the existing district government, while the stranger gave frank expression to his views. One is that his opinions on the subject were and are of no value and therefore not worth noticing, and the other that he called attention to a situation of affairs about which they are somewhat sensitive and say little, recognizing as they must that in the present district government a fundamental American political principle has been completely repudiated and abandoned; whether wisely or not is fairly a matter of opinion.

Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution of the United States gives to Congress "the power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may become the seat of the government of the United States." In the exercise of the power thus conferred Congress has given to the District of Columbia during its exist-

ence as the national capital four different kinds of municipal government. For the first ten years of municipal life the city of Washington was governed by a mayor and Council, the former being appointed by the President and the latter elected by the white male citizens of legal age. Thereafter and for fifty-nine years the city government was composed of a mayor, board of aldermen and Common Council, all of whom were elected. Under this regime municipal growth and progress was slow. Until the close of the war Washington remained, as one citizen has described it, "a dirty, lazy, Southern town." The city of Georgetown, also within the territorial limits of the district and which had an existence as an incorporated town before the cession by Maryland to the United States of the territory now comprising the District of Columbia, was governed in a like manner, but independently of Washington. The district outside of the cities of Washington and Georgetown was governed by a body known as the "Levy Court." These three governing bodies continued until 1871, when they were displaced by an act of Congress establishing a territorial form of government for municipal purposes only, which, after a checkered career of some four years, gave way to substantially the present municipal government.

It is not proposed to discuss the reasons that are advanced to explain why the people of the district were deprived of a voice in their local government, save as it may be necessary to shed light on existing conditions. Suffice it to say, that chief among them were the alleged abuses of universal manhood suffrage in a community composed two-thirds of white and one-third of colored persons, the latter then but recently slaves and suddenly clothed with the privileges of the suffrage in municipal affairs.

The present population of the District of Columbia exceeds two hundred and seventy thousand persons; and the proportion of white to colored remains about the same as when the suffrage was taken away. A considerable number of residents of the district, how many it is difficult to estimate, perhaps two or three thousand or more, maintain a legal residence elsewhere. They are generally persons in

the employ of the United States hailing from different parts of the country who find it an advantage, as doubtless it is, to have a vote somewhere in the land. Some of them, however, are wealthy people, who make Washington a winter residence and have built fine houses in the city and suburbs, finding pleasure in the society, official and otherwise, of the Capital. The district is not a manufacturing community, nor in a larger sense, a commercial one, and yet manufactures and commerce are to be found here. While a good deal of illiteracy exists, more especially among the colored people, and an unwholesome proportion of the criminal element is also drawn from the dark-skinned portion of our population, the standard of education and intelligence is high and good order is preserved within the district.

The administration of local affairs is conducted by three gentlemen known as "Commissioners of the District of Columbia," who together constitute a board. Two of them are nominated from civil life by the President and must be confirmed by the Senate. The third is detailed from the corps of engineers of the army and is designated by the President for this service. The civilian commissioners must be citizens of the United States and have been actual residents of the district for three years next before their appointment. Not so the engineer commissioner, who may be taken from any obscure post to serve on the board. These commissioners elect a president of the board from among their number, and he has been, thus far, one of the civilian commissioners. This position is one of honor merely, conferring neither additional emoluments or powers. The commissioners must act together as a board, the majority, however, controlling in all disputed questions.

As executive officers the power of the commissioners is large and complete. They owe allegiance to no one. They appoint, promote, reduce and dismiss all subordinates, except two assistants to the engineer commissioner, who are designated, like himself, from the engineer corps of the army, and in making these appointments, promotions, reductions or dismissals, they

are entirely untrammelled except in a manner hereafter to be alluded to. Under their direction are assessments for taxation made and the taxes collected. They award all contracts for building school and fire engine houses, and for making street and other improvements or repairs. They appoint school trustees, and superintendents; the superintendent of the police and all other police officials; the chief of the fire department and all of his subordinates. In fact, except in the case of the two assistants to the engineer commissioner and the school teachers (the latter being appointed by the school trustees), other than the superintendents, there is not a person in the municipal government who does not owe his official existence to the arbitrary and exclusive power of these three gentlemen. Congress has also attempted to confer upon them legislative functions, in authorizing them to promulgate on certain subjects, what in another form of municipal government would be called ordinances. The courts took a hand at this juncture, however, and refused to admit the constitutionality of what was done under this supposed authority of the act of Congress, except in the matter of some street, health and police regulations, which are not regarded as trespassing upon the personal liberty of the citizen.

It has been divined, no doubt, already, by those who hear this paper read, Congress is the board of aldermen and common council for the district. To it we must go for all our legislation and authority to spend the money raised by taxation in the district. All such money is turned over to the Treasurer of the United States, who honors no draft upon it save as it may be authorized by the Congress. And the accounting officers of the Treasury pass upon all district accounts. The reason for this is found in the fact that the federal government furnishes half the money for the expenses of government of the district and it proposes therefore to see that the funds are properly expended or applied. Surprise is often manifested by strangers and citizens of the United States not familiar with the facts in the case, at what seems to be a liberal contribution by the

United States to the revenues of the district. But there is nothing liberal about it. The national government is the owner of more than one-half the taxable property in the District of Columbia, and it would be strange, indeed, if it were to attempt to evade the payment of a just proportion of the cost of protecting its valuable holdings. Again, it pockets much money that comes from the citizens of the district through the channels of certain local fee officers, which cover into the Treasury all that is received over and above the cost of conducting them; and revenue thus derived is heard of no more by the people of the district.

Three or four days a month, known as "district days," are set apart by Congress for the consideration of district affairs, and on these occasions the committees on the District of Columbia of both House and Senate claim the attention of members for much-needed legislation. It rarely happens, however, that more than two days a month are obtained from Congress for this purpose, and in a short session it is often hard to get a single day a month for discussion and action on subjects of vital importance to the welfare of the people of the Capital. "District day" has become a signal for the emptying of the House and Senate, and the managers of local bills with increasing difficulty struggle for recognition, a hearing and a quorum. This indifference to local legislation has extended in large measure to the District Committees themselves, and the absence of a quorum in committee meetings frequently precludes consideration and preparation of local measures. This situation of affairs is becoming intolerable even to those who look with dread upon any proposition to change the form of the local government.

It, perhaps, should be added that although the President appoints the District Commissioners in the manner already described, his authority in local affairs goes no further. He might, of course, by threatening a Commissioner or by exacting promises from one he was about appointing to that position, secure compliance with his wishes in municipal matters. But it is not known that this has ever been attempted.

In a brief way the foregoing will give a general idea of the form of government prevailing in the District of Columbia. "Its adaptability to local needs" is now to be considered, following the suggestion contained in the letter which is responsible for this paper.

Neither Washington or its inhabitants differ much from other American cities of the same size and their inhabitants, and except as to the question of the relation of the District of Columbia to the federal government there are no circumstances to warrant a different form of municipal government for it than what would be considered desirable for any other city of its dimensions in the country. Undeniably the present government of the capital is the source of constant and increasing dissatisfaction and suspicion.

Dependent as we are upon Congress, its utter failure as a municipal legislative body threatens the future of the district. And yet it should not surprise thinking people that a legislature, charged with the parliamentary affairs of a nation of sixty-five millions of people and formulating currency and tariff policies, to-day finds difficulty in coming to the consideration to-morrow of whether it will grant an appropriation to lay a sewer or pass an ordinance concerning the disposition of garbage in a community of less than three hundred thousand persons. This was never contemplated by the constitution makers and certainly Congress is not adapted to the performance of such legislative duties. Indeed the difficulty of legislating even in its legitimate sphere of action is occasioning much perplexity to the students and admirers of our political institutions. Is it a wonder then that the petty details of municipal legislation encounter the impatience, indifference and even disgust of the national legislators, important though that legislation may be to the comfort, security and general welfare of the people of the District of Columbia?

Citizens of the District are frequently told by the friends of the present system that Washington is and was designed to be a federal city, and it is eminently proper that such a city, belong-

ing to the people of the whole country, should be legislated for by the Congress of the United States; that the affairs of such a city concern the people of the whole country, and that therefore they will be fully cared for by the people's representatives. That sounds well enough, but what does it amount to as a fact? The old adage that "what is everybody's business is nobody's business" comes home to the citizens of Washington at every session of Congress with peculiar force. With rare exception the average congressman exhibits about as much information on District matters as a Hottentot may be supposed to possess, and he don't seem to want any more. The result is that time and again important local legislation suffers assaults from some ignorant member and is finally defeated because the House or Senate has no knowledge or interest in the measure under consideration.

Of late years the House and Senate, and more particularly the former, have been regarding with suspicion their District Committees. In the House, bills coming from the Committee on the District of Columbia are, in an increasing number of instances, charged with being "jobs," and, although these charges generally lack a specific or definite character, they have resulted in the discrediting of all the legislation, good and bad, that has emanated from the same source.

For the people of the District these committees care little. Hearings before them are generally a waste of time. A little coterie of bankers, real estate speculators and street and steam railway projectors or owners dominate the committees. A judicious supper will at almost any time bring forth a valuable street franchise or a handsome appropriation for some street improvement in a subdivision where no one lives or is likely to live for a quarter of a century to come. But when some labor organization or body of disinterested citizens asks for increased school facilities, little or no attention is paid to them until, from "damnable iteration," our local legislators are compelled grudgingly to listen to the moderate demands thus made.

With respect to general legislation the power to enact,

which could not be delegated by Congress to any municipal government it might see fit to establish, the situation is as bad. Our laws are in a state of confusion. Indeed to determine just what is the law is to provide a task that no member of the District bar would take upon himself. The common law of England, British statutes in force in Maryland at the time of the cession, Maryland statutes in existence at the same period, acts of Congress since the session, ordinances of the old corporations of Washington, Georgetown and the Levy Court, and acts of the legislative assembly, are some of the sources of our jurisprudence. Though we have asked Congress time and again for a code, our appeals, as usual, fall upon deaf ears. So it is our courts are still applying the rules and legal monstrosities of mediæval times to the unfortunate litigant classes, and one may see at the National Capital some worthless husband claiming and getting the earnings of his industrious wife, a widow denied a dower in an equity of redemption, judgment creditors sent into courts of equity in order to reach with their judgments the equitable estates and property of their debtors, incest going unpunished, and a breach of trust not recognized as a criminal offense. But is it necessary to further multiply instances of congressional supineness and indifference? Surely enough has been said to satisfy the candid mind that the District of Columbia is not blessed in its legislative department of government.

How as to the executive department, will be asked. It has been our good fortune always to have had as District Commissioners men who in the main are honest men. That is to say, it has never been charged against any of them, that they have profited by their positions at the public's expense. Many, the most of them, have sincerely tried to do their whole duty in places of exceptional difficulty and delicacy. And if it be the ungracious duty of the writer to criticise in hostile spirit the executive branch of the local government, let it be understood that the criticisms are directed against the system rather than its representatives, the District Commissioners.

It can accurately be said that no section of the District, save

the great northwest section, has ever had a representative on the Board of Commissioners. The civilian Commissioners are now being referred to, for the engineer Commissioner is never a resident of the District at the time of his designation. The same influences that control legislation dictate the appointment of the Commissioners. No man not satisfactory to what is called the "Real Estate Ring" can be nominated, or if nominated could be confirmed. And these dictators all reside in the northwest. Men who receive and accept appointments under such well-known conditions are apt to recognize the forces that gave them official character, and how does it result? The "ring" has the ears of the Commissioners at all times. Favoritism and partiality in the matter of public improvement is shown to them. The grossest inequalities in the assessment of property for taxation are permitted to exist in favor of the "power behind the throne." Corporations owned or controlled by the "ring" are treated tenderly and their repeated violations of law meet with but feeble rebuke.

As the Commissioners are not selected with reference either to a knowledge of municipal government or because of any other special qualifications for the position, they generally have to be educated to their work, a process to which they are not always adapted, and during which public interests are likely to suffer.

It is not to be understood that they either refuse to listen to or act upon the complaints or requests of other classes of citizens besides those to whom allusion has been made, for they do both, *provided*, that in so doing, they will not interfere with the plans or wishes of the powers that be. As has been said, the Commissioners have complete control of the appointments, dismissals, etc., of all subordinates, but in the exercise of that control they have allowed themselves to be fettered by Congressional office-brokers, who now make it a *sine qua non* of appropriations and legislation for the district, that they shall have the offices; and they generally get them.

Another very objectionable feature of the executive depart-

ment is the militarism that pervades it. An extremely important branch is the engineer's office, presided over by an army officer who brings with him the methods and attitude of mind that military training invariably produces, and which never have and never will succeed in purely civil government. Listen to what the present Postmaster-General said in this connection when chairman of the sub-committee on appropriations for the District of Columbia, eight years ago:

"Now, an examination of the working of the District government will disclose the fact that the engineer department is almost the government. The matters with which it deals, the large number of its employees, its control of local improvements, of sewers and water supply, make it easily the main and overshadowing part of the District government. It can largely influence the growth of the city, raise or depress property values, and hold in its grasp the health and comfort of its citizens. Yet this chief department of the District government is by law committed to a non-resident, and that non-resident an army officer. To me this feature is most objectionable, and I cannot but wonder that the nearest approach to a military government in this country should be in the District, in which is the country's capital. I do not refer to individuals; I object to the system. I have no prejudice against army officers, least of all against the engineer corps. Of some of its members I have spoken in terms of sincere eulogy in the House. I concede that a high standard of personal probity prevails in the corps and a high order of capacity in the line of its profession. But, granting all of this, a trained soldier has military methods of administration that are as incongruous and out of place in civil office as civilian methods would be in military affairs. The very habit of yielding or of exacting implicit obedience to orders as they come from those over him, or are directed to those under him, little fits him to become a civil servant and agent of the people. He chafes under their criticism and is impatient of their complaints, advice or petitions. Furthermore, the very environment of such an officer at Washington is unfavorable to the discharge of his duties with

even-handed justice to all interests and with a full and fair knowledge of them. His residence at the National Capital is a brief and pleasant episode in his military career. His education and rank entitle him to enter, and the powers with which he is clothed secure him a ready entrance, into the best and wealthiest social circles. These and the select clubs, both at present plentifully sprinkled with real estate speculators, open their doors to him and welcome him with the hospitality that often adroitly veils a selfish motive. He is in danger of regarding the associations in which he so pleasantly moves as the people of Washington. Their ideas are constantly impressed on him and their interests fill his vision. With the great mass of people he never becomes acquainted; with their ideas and interests he has but an indirect and second-hand acquaintance. If they venture into his official presence with their plain petitions and blunt requests, after the manner of free American citizens who pay taxes and bear the burdens of the government, he wearies of their importunities. If they exercise the inalienable right of criticising he frets under it. When they censure they are the 'proletariat.' If Congress deals out taxes a little carefully and affixes to their expenditure the limitations and safeguards that of right belong to the expenditure of the people's money, it is bulletined as 'blunders of Congress.'"

Arbitrary and autocratic as the commissionship government may be, and as it very often is, it is nevertheless at points strangely weak and inefficient. This is observed when it attempts to deal with the rich and powerful street and steam railroad corporations. Here the commissioners are practically powerless, and the railroads snap their fingers derisively in the faces of the local authorities. Illegal occupation of the streets and refusal to obey regulations looking to the safety and comfort of the traveling public and citizens generally, are specimens of the contemptuous disregard by the railroad companies of the municipal government. Appeals to Congress by the Commissioners are vain. Infinitely stronger than the Commissioners or the citizens of the District, on the floors and in the lobbies of House and Senate, are the railroads.

Like the legislative branch, the executive authority does not respond to public sentiment. With the best intentions, but with no knowledge of the wishes of the people or the means of acquiring it, the three Commissioners stumble along in a vain effort to please somebody and, as is usual, succeed in pleasing nobody.

With the exception of a scandal that grew out of the purchase by the municipal government of certain school sites a few years ago, and which probably involved more error of judgment than anything else, it is refreshing to be able to state that with all their failings and weaknesses, due, as has been said, far more to the system than to the men who act and speak for it, the District Commissioners have not been corrupt men. Personal integrity have characterized our local executives thus far. We have had *weak* men as Commissioners and men whose judgments have been warped and biased by the circumstances of their appointment and the environment into which they have been thrown, but they have been *honest*. Defalcations are unknown in the local government, and we are yet to hear of bribe-giving or bribe-taking. With the exceptions already suggested the laws are honestly administered, but ineffectively in many directions.

By the establishment of a court of appeals, two years ago, the six judges composing the supreme court of the District of Columbia are now able to devote themselves exclusively to *nisi prius* business, and if they can but once clear the calendars, that became choked when only three men sat as trial judges, it is believed that they can dispose of all litigation that is likely to come before them for some years, with satisfactory speed. The appellate court has thus far had no difficulty in handling promptly and to the satisfaction of the community the litigation that reaches it. Two police courts dispose of the cases usually tried by such tribunals. The business of these courts is very heavy and taxes severely the two judges that preside over them. Our judicial system is now deemed satisfactory and probably

answers present needs. The judges are honest and fairly able men.

The fear that if Congress should again confer local self-government upon the people of the District of Columbia it would at the same time withdraw the financial contribution that is now made by the National Government to the District treasury prevents many persons who find existing conditions well-nigh unbearable from advocating a change. The dread of "nigger rule" is another bugbear that frightens many a good citizen either into active opposition or passive resistance to the restoration of suffrage. The people who from purely selfish motives favor the present system of government take good care to play upon these fears when anything like a movement for a change is inaugurated, and thus far they have done so with success. Last summer, however, the labor organizations commenced an agitation for home rule and local self-government that is likely to continue until some results favorable to their cause have been obtained. Uniting with these organizations are a large number of colored inhabitants and a few white citizens who are earnest and determined. The meetings of the suffragists are ridiculed by some of the strongest newspapers in the District and their objects condemned. Not having announced as yet the form of government they propose, satisfying themselves for the present with insisting upon a recognition of the principle of suffrage, it is assumed by their opponents that they would establish a municipal government containing all the weaknesses and vices of the average American municipality. This, of course, is not the case, but it is idle to assure the enemies of self-government that a model municipal system of government which recognized the suffrage principle is possible. They do not wish such a government, and will prevent its establishment if they can.

Scattered all over the District are so-called "Citizens' Associations" having, for their main object, the securing for the sections of the District they respectively assume to speak and act for a fair share of appropriations and public improvements. One or two of them have for several years fought vigorously the

grade crossings of the steam railroads, and although they have not yet succeeded in abolishing them, they have done more in this direction by a great deal than the local government. The associations are largely composed of property owners, who have found that by organizing they are more likely to have their claims and wishes at least heard by the District rulers than if they "went it alone." These associations have all sprung into existence since the people of the District were deprived of a voice in their government, and they are an unconscious protest against so un-American a system of municipal rule.

Five years ago or thereabouts the Washington Board of Trade was organized. It had its inception in the efforts then being made to establish what is now known as the "Rock Creek Park." Its organizers were and are men of large means, and they belong to the class which controls the District government. In a membership approaching five hundred there are ten to twenty bankers, fifty-eight lawyers and seventy-five real estate brokers, a few doctors and other professional men, and the remainder are from the manufacturing and mercantile classes. At its head and on the board of directors are some of the wealthiest and shrewdest of our local magnates. It has taken a place of great influence in the community. Former district committees of House and Senate have assured its officers that they will always be heard with respect, and at a dinner last winter, given by the board of directors to the members of the House and Senate district committees, the board was told by one of the complacent guests that "if you gentlemen don't get what you want it will be your fault." A few days ago the Board gave an excursion and after dinner was over, among the speechmakers was one of the present civilian district commissioners, who, after roundly abusing the various citizens' associations, told the Board in effect that it was the only body of men in the District that the commissioners should pay any attention to, or whose wishes they should regard. The welfare, material and moral, of the District is the chief object of the Board of Trade. It frowns upon any effort to alter the form of government. The present

methods of assessing and collecting taxes meet with its approval. It is urging a code of law for the District. It is conducting an investigation into the gas and electric light monopolies, and it has commenced a crusade against the gambling and general lawlessness that exists on the Virginia side of the Potomac River opposite the city of Washington.

There is a Civil Service Reform Association in the District, having for its principal object the extension to the municipal government of the merit system of appointments, promotions, reductions and dismissals to, in and from the local offices. It has been a year in existence, and is making progress in its work. It will push a bill through the next Congress, if possible, applying the principles it advocates to the District.

There has recently been organized an association called "The Civic Centre of Washington, D. C.," which, to quote from its own declaration, "is designed to serve as a central agency to co-ordinate, harmonize and help all associations, societies and agencies, public and private, which are working in the city for the public good. It will not seek to displace, antagonize or rival any other organization, however great or however humble, which aims at the welfare of the city, but will promote the work of all for the good of all. In brief, it is an agency, the want of which has long been felt by many of the leading workers in a field of public good, to bring into proper relations and due co-operations and harmony the efforts of hundreds of associations, societies, unions, circles and clubs in which thousands of our best citizens, old and young, are at work to promote the peace, purity, health, intelligence, progress and Christian well-being of this beautiful capital of the nation." Disinterested men and women make up its membership. It has no favors to ask, no axes to grind, and if each of its committees will but do their duty it ought to bear fruit. It is too soon yet to speak of its work, for it has only just got into running order, but having no selfish motive as its *raison d'être* much may be hoped from it.

We have the average number of charitable and temperance

organizations working along the usual lines and accomplishing the average results in these directions.

This concludes the review of the municipal condition of Washington called for by the letter of invitation from the Secretary of the League. In making it I have sought to be fair and impartial, and for this reason, perhaps, the paper may seem colorless and devoid of character. I have tried to avoid intruding merely personal convictions or opinions, but I wish it understood that I have *both* on this great and growing question of municipal government. I am aware that the tendency of writers and thinkers on the subject is away from the principle of universal suffrage. I think this unfortunate, for it seems to me a hopeless undertaking to attempt to stem the swelling tide of democratic ideas and methods of government. It may be that popular government is now being put to its severest test in the municipalities of the country. It may be that it will not stand the test, but unless we are prepared to relinquish the fundamental theory of our political institutions it is in the municipalities that we *must* make it succeed.

I offer you Washington as an example of a municipality where the people thereof are denied all voice and participation in their government. Do you wish to follow it?

THE MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF INDIANAPOLIS.

LUCIUS B. SWIFT,

EDITOR, CIVIL SERVICE CHRONICLE.

The city of Indianapolis has had its share in emphasizing the failure of American municipal government. What with boodle aldermen, boodle councilmen and a loose financial system, with police and fire departments worth in votes to the party in control many times the number of employees, with a street department honeycombed with private and party snaps, boss-ridden, party-ridden and nearly wrecked by its servants, the city had all the decorations which entitled it to a place in the front rank of civic failures. When it seemed about to disappear in its own mud some of its leading citizens woke up, and by a vigorous effort procured from the general assembly a modern charter.

In this charter the only elective offices are the mayor, the clerk, the police judge and the councilmen. The city legislature is one body, a Common Council of twenty-one members, fifteen elected by wards and six by the whole city. The Council may legislate only. It cannot hire anybody, nor appoint any of its members to hire anybody, nor give anybody a job. It can exercise no executive function. It may investigate any department, officer or employee of the city, with full power to send for persons and papers, and by a two-thirds vote may remove any officer or employee.

The mayor is the important man. The charter creates five executive departments: Finance, headed by the comptroller; law, headed by the city attorney; public works, headed by a board of three; public safety, headed by a board of three; assessment and collection, headed by the treasurer and assessor, and health and charities, headed by a board of three physicians.

Omitting the treasurer and assessor, who are *ex officio*, such as county and township officers, the mayor appoints all of these officials, and may at any time suspend or remove any of them; but he must state his reasons in writing to the Common Council. Add to this his veto power extending to single items of money ordinances which only a two-thirds vote in the Common Council can overcome, and add his enlarged power in times of disorder and it will be seen that he is a large factor in our city government.

To the great powers conferred by the charter there are certain limitations. Ninety cents on the \$100 is the limit of taxation, and one-tenth must go for streets. The borrowing limit is two per cent. of the valuation for taxation. No money can be spent until there is an appropriation by the Common Council upon estimates furnished by the executive, and these estimates cannot be raised by the Council without the mayor's consent. After the general estimate and appropriation for the year there can be no other appropriation without a special estimate, followed by a two-thirds vote of the Council.

No contract can be made by any executive officer binding the city beyond the money at the time actually appropriated. No order can be drawn on the treasury unless the money is there to pay it. When a warrant is presented to the comptroller for an order on the treasury he may go behind the returns and inquire into the justice of the claim. Work to be paid for by assessments upon property benefited must be done by such contract with the lowest and best bidder; other work may be done by such contract or by city employees. Wide and almost arbitrary powers are given the various officers and boards to keep public order, to protect against fire, to regulate sanitary matters, and to enlarge, beautify and improve the city and its streets and public places. Indianapolis city government is, therefore, not a town meeting democracy. Within certain general limitations, public officers may act with promptness, vigor and effect. The people like the charter, and except the grave defect hereinafter named, it is adapted to their needs. The leg-

The greatest feature in the charter was here shown. The people could floor their entire city government with a single blow. And with all the shortcomings I have named the valuable possibilities of the charter had become manifest, and under a judicious and honest board of public works the city could show more for its money than ever before. Nor could the mayor be called a shifty politician, but he was a most reputable gentleman, with utterly mistaken notions that city affairs should be run in the interest of the party and under the dictation of the party managers.

The new mayor did not start free from the notion that his party and party friends were to derive some benefits from the city government. For instance, he gave the comptrollership to a man who "had done a good many things for him," and whom he wanted to pay. There was no peace until an exceptionally good superintendent of the city hospital was hurried out of his place. The mayor was not equal to making necessary vacancies and opening the places to competition, but after numerous changes, of which his partisans got the benefit, he determined to introduce civil service reform. A complete set of rules were furnished him. In consultation with his heads of departments the part forbidding assessments was struck out and some other loopholes were made and the rest adopted amid furious and bitter denunciation by the boys of the mayor's party.

The road left open for assessments was soon traveled. At the state election last year the comptroller sent out to Republican city employees a request to all to pay one per cent. on salaries under \$1000 and two per cent. on salaries over that amount for campaign expenses. When asked about it, this disciple of Flanagan, of Texas, replied: "All appointive offices are political offices and the people who get them should pay for them." When the mayor was remonstrated with he replied that no wrong had been done; that it was a greater wrong to ask private citizens, who expected no office, to pay campaign expenses; and under the present system of running campaigns those who held office from their party should expect and desire to contribute. This attitude well expressed the mayor's limitations.

Civil service rules were never introduced under more unfriendly conditions. In the midst of enemies they answer every fair test. Slender as is the foothold they are winning respect. The Chicago election has clarified the atmosphere. It has been discovered to be no longer popular to scoff at open competition and fair play in the distribution of public employment. There was the other day, after filling the places by ignoring the rules, a genuine competitive examination for sanitary police in which all but one of the appointees by favoritism were competed out. The board of public safety has carried the principle of competition for policemen and firemen a good distance with results correspondingly satisfactory. But if it cannot yet forget that a black man is black, even when he beats white men at every point, the board, therefore, does not fully adopt the first principle of civil service reform, which is an equal contest and fair play for all. The mayor is progressing with the times. He refused to permit an ante-election street gang. He has issued new and stringent orders that the rules are to be observed without exception or evasion; and it is not expected that he will again permit that indirect blackmail, called requests for campaign contributions. More than ever before in its history Indianapolis has departed from partyism, and in the same proportion its government has become efficient and good. Nevertheless, the incubus of politics hangs over it. If our civil service rules are disregarded or nullified by any mayor there is no adequate remedy. By reason of the defects in the charter our city government is a great prize to be fought for by those in search of party loot. Our worthy comptroller, who believes that offices should be paid for, is a candidate for his party's nomination to the mayoralty at the approaching election. On the other hand there is in Indianapolis a club called "The Anti-Civil Service Democratic Reform Club." The president of this club is now the leading candidate of his party for the same nomination. Such are our unpleasant possibilities. There can be no permanent reform in any city while its public service is thus exposed. With the spoil taken away by law so that no subordinate place can be reached except

upon merit; and so that there can be no reward for party or personal zeal the prize disappears and the unpleasant possibilities along with it. In Indianapolis we shall completely protect our public service by law so soon as a general assembly is elected which is not controlled by those who live by "politics."

I would not be understood as saying that the removal of the spoil will alone produce a self-acting perfect city government. What I say is that there can be no permanent reform in any city so long as its public service is open to be preyed upon by its ward bummers; and I say, further, that the merit and labor service systems established by law are indispensable first steps. I do not forget that control by its ward bummers brought shame and ruin to New York, although that city had a civil service law. This but shows that the best of laws and rules become a humbug in the hands of knaves and fools. Honesty and wit in administration will not come of themselves, nor will they come voluntarily out of any nominating machine. I read the words of many excellent people, who call upon their fellow-citizens for "a truer patriotism" and a "higher standard of citizenship," and then go to the polls and vote with their fellow-partisans, the Platts and the Crokers. Honesty and wit will never come into government by this process. They will come when the voter takes off his partyism and hangs it on a peg while he goes to the polls with the determination that his vote shall be made to count, not for partyism, but for the defeat and punishment of partyism in every shape and form in his city government.

And he will not be stopped by the worn-out trick of a distressing picture of disaster in some other field, or to some other question held up to induce him to consent to leave his city yet awhile longer under shady political morals. The voter must refuse to be diverted, but must go with an eye single to an end not within easy reach. The enemies of municipal good government have built entrenchments for generations, and they cannot be dislodged in a day, even with the best of laws and rules.

Many Mayor Strong's will yet halt and tremble and break down in the presence of Plattism. But there is one thing which recreant mayors and Plattism cannot survive, and that is the rack of the defeats which voters who refuse to be yoked by the machine can inflict upon them.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF DETROIT.

REV. DONALD D. MACLAURIN, D. D.,
ACTING PRESIDENT, DETROIT CIVIC FEDERATION.

Detroit has the form of city government common to most cities of the country. Its legislative departments consist of a Common Council, composed of thirty-two aldermen, chosen two from each of the sixteen wards into which the city is divided. This Common Council has the powers generally entrusted to similar bodies—namely, control of the streets of the city, granting of franchises for railways, ferries, gas and electric lighting, etc.; licensing of vehicles, theatres, etc., and the regulating of expenditures and providing funds for the maintenance of the boards, commissions, etc.

The experiment was tried a few years since of having two bodies, an upper and lower house, but the plan was abandoned after an unfortunate experience of about four years. The action of the Council is subject to the veto power of the mayor of the city in all matters involving expenditures of money, the usual two-thirds majority being required to over-ride his veto. Another check upon the power of the Council is provided in the Board of Estimates, whose members serve without pay in April of each year, and have power to pass upon the appropriations of the ensuing year. This board consists of about forty members, elected partly by districts and in part from the city at large. It was attempted some time since to displace this board by the upper house of the Council, but, as already stated, the experiment was not a success, and the former plan was resumed. This board is one of the most satisfactory institutions of the city government. Representative men are secured as members who willingly give the limited time required each year, and who, having no hand in the expenditure of the money, are only interested in providing sufficient funds for an economical administration. A proposition is

pending before the legislature seeking to enlarge the powers of this board so as to give them the right to dictate the manner of expending the money in detail instead of providing gross funds that may be diverted from the uses for which they were intended.

The mayor of the city is the chief executive officer. He is elected for two years. He has the veto power over the acts of the Council, and has the appointment of certain officers, boards and commissions. He has no authority to serve upon these boards except in an advisory way. The city is, to a certain extent, handicapped by reason of the independent power of these boards and commissions which frequently come into contact with one another. Their jealousy for their rights and powers often cause unseemly strife and contention, and end in unfriendly and expensive litigation.

The fire department, the water department, the public lighting department, the police department, the poor department, are each controlled by boards of from two to five members. The health department is under a board appointed by the governor of the state, working under a law which has been enacted within the last few weeks. The care of the pavements, sidewalks, public property, etc., is under the supervision of the Board of Public Works, consisting of three members, appointed by the mayor. This board has much power, but is subject to a large extent to the direction of the Council. Its administration gives general satisfaction. Perhaps the greatest need in the city government as at present constituted is some union or some centralization of these various boards and commissions, so that there will be greater harmony in plan and execution. In addition to the appointed offices and boards mentioned, there are elected at the municipal elections each alternate year a city clerk and a city treasurer, who perform the duties usually devolving upon such officers of the city. The chief financial officer is the controller; he is appointed by the mayor for three years.

There are three municipal courts in the city of Detroit: The recorder's court, which has the jurisdiction over criminal cases

and condemnation proceedings, as well as the enforcement of the city ordinances; the police court, in which misdemeanors and disorderly cases are tried; and justices of the peace, in which litigation is prosecuted involving sums less than \$300. The legal business of the city is conducted by a corporation counsel and assistants, appointed by the mayor. This is a new departure, there having existed for many years past a dual-headed legal department—a city attorney, elected by the people, and a city counsellor, appointed by the Council, upon nomination by the mayor. The appointees of the mayor of Detroit have been usually men of exceptional character, who have commanded the confidence and respect of the entire community. We believe most intensely in the federal plan of municipal government, and find, we believe, justification for this faith in the excellent appointments of our present mayor. The only board that met with adverse criticism in the city was the health board, which was legislated out of office because of the alleged incompetency of the health commissioner.

General crimes and misdemeanors are looked after carefully in Detroit. The police department for many years have been vigilant in this direction. The petty criminal has a hard time in our municipal court. It has been claimed, however, that very few of what we may call the greater criminals have been punished in Detroit in the years gone. This claim was set forth in a public communication by an attorney who has been in the city for fifteen years, and his contention has never been successfully disputed; that men who have had strong political and other pulls have enjoyed a degree of immunity is believed by not a few of our citizens. The conviction of two members of our school board for accepting bribe within the recent months has been hailed with commanding interest by the press and people of Detroit. That a vast amount of boodling has been practiced by aldermen and others is openly charged by the papers and believed by the people; but little success has attended efforts to fasten guilt on the alleged corrupt officials. The conviction of the school inspectors will tend, it is believed, to develop a higher

public conscience in our community, and encourage good men and true to accept offices of public trust without fear of having their fair names besmirched by suspicion of corruption. A better set of men were induced to stand for the school inspectorships during the election of last spring; and it is believed that our school board will be of an average quality much higher than during any of the recent years.

We shall have time in this paper to consider only the execution and administration of laws as they relate: First, *to saloons*; second, *to gambling*; third, *to the social evil*.

1. For a number of years, indeed for the whole history of Detroit, saloons have had a large latitude allowed them. Now and again an effort has been made to require them to live up to the law, but it has been spasmodic and temporary. For some time they were allowed to run openly on Sundays and to evade the law that required them to be closed at a certain hour each night. The several departments concerned with the enforcement of law felt that the other departments were responsible for this condition of things, and that its own hands were especially tied. A prominent official concerned said to the writer, when he charged that the saloons were openly violating the law: "You may make any indictment which you please and I will plead guilty to it all."

2. It may be said that most of the gambling institutions of the city for a number of years have been closed out, though for some years certain ones, for some reason or other, which no one can find out, were allowed to ply their nefarious traffic. The gambling institutions, however, were limited in number to about five, and these have in the recent weeks been closed.

3. The social evil is the most difficult problem that confronts the administrators of law and all who have real municipal regeneration at heart. The policy of the police department has been to keep the evil under strictest surveillance. They have not allowed it to accumulate upon one or two streets; indeed, they have saved our streets from abandonment to this line of iniquity. They have kept it, however, within a certain area, and

keep a close surveillance upon the inmates of the houses. All the inmates are known and registered. So far as an evil can be regulated that is done in Detroit.

Something more than a year ago the prosecuting attorney determined that if any of these houses were allowed to sell liquor they should be compelled to take out licenses as saloons. He has since contended that this measure put into the treasuries of Wayne County something like \$25,000; but on examination it is found that the total amount paid by them for license was less than \$8000, and the evil influences were greatly augmented by this official recognition. This year the police department has announced that none of them shall be allowed to secure a license, for any concern that secures a license will be treated as a saloon, and must conduct only a saloon business. Any house securing a license will not be allowed to conduct the social evil. It is confidently believed that the association of liquor with the social evil emphasizes both the evils many times; and that a measure of relief will be experienced by their severance.

But the problem of the social evil is still unsolved among us. If this Conference can suggest a radical and humane treatment of this curse of our municipalities it will be conferring a great boon upon thousands of men and women who are anxious to see this cancer removed from our fair cities. It is fair to admit that wide latitude has hitherto been allowed by our police department, and is still allowed to these corrupt people. These disorderly houses can all be closed, but the evil is scattered, not eradicated. For a time, at least, it has escaped the surveillance of the police, but it infests our respectable neighborhoods and entraps the innocent who might never come in contact with it; it flourishes then on new victims. Or, if you close the houses you may drive the women and girls out upon the streets. In that case what shall they do? Where shall they go? What shall become of them? They may go to another city, you say. Yes; we might be able to hustle these poor victims of men's lust, and the poor creatures, which an unjust economic condition has in many cases forced into a life of shame, off into the next

town; but is that wise? Does that lessen the quantity? To ask these questions is to answer them.

There can be no radical and permanent cure that does not provide another chance to the Magdalene; that does not destroy a vicious double standard in the practices of society; that does not provide a rescue and salvation for the sinning woman as now for the sinning man.

The first thing that confronted the Civic Federation in its endeavor to improve municipal condition was the condition of our law courts. It was found that our juries were very unsatisfactory. This was especially so in our courts of record. Theoretically, the system of selecting and drawing jurors for these courts was excellent, but the practical results were far from being satisfactory. The law required that jurors shall be persons of good moral character, of approved integrity, of sound mind, well informed, conversant with the English language, in possession of their natural faculties, not infirm or decrepit and otherwise free from all legal exceptions. That jurors were serving in all our courts who were wanting in one or all of these requisites became notorious. Professional jurors abounded.

With a view of correcting this evil the Federation prepared a bill which has been enacted into law that remedies effectually this defect. Under it it is made mandatory upon the presiding judge to examine thoroughly at the beginning of the term the competency of jurors, and in every case a large number of men have been since eliminated, and our juries have been of a very much higher order, and have given more satisfaction than heretofore.

The circuit court for the county of Wayne also needed relief. "Delay of justice is a denial of justice." Yet through no fault of either the court or its officers the circuit court has been far behind in its work, and so far the delay of from one to two years was inevitable in the great majority of cases on trial therein. The Civic Federation prepared a bill which has been enacted into law during the present session of the legislature that will furnish relief to the circuit court in order that cases

may come to speedy trial. The moral effect of many cases is lost because of delay in action. Prompt and speedy trials are demanded in the interest of the public good. This law had the endorsement of all our circuit court judges and of the intelligent portion of the Detroit bar.

The theatres of Detroit of the lower order have gradually been opening their houses for exhibitions on Sunday nights. A law exists against Sunday shows, but the penalty attached is so insignificant that the violators laugh at it. They have, therefore, successfully evaded that law, and one after another have opened up their places to the moral deterioration and the corrupting of the youth of our community. A bill has been prepared and is still pending in the legislature at Lansing that will effectually, if passed, secure the ends which all good citizens desire. We are not so certain, however, that we shall secure the enactment into law of this bill. Strenuous efforts are making for and against it with the uncertain result already indicated.

The legislative committee of the Federation, to whom we are indebted for these splendid bills which have received the endorsement of the law makers at Lansing, with the exception noted above, gave a great deal of attention to a new caucus bill. The caucuses of our city were most shamefully conducted. It is impossible to secure municipal reform while the primary elections are controlled by unprincipled "ward bosses." So outrageously were the caucuses conducted last fall that even some of the politicians themselves began to blush for shame. The public became aroused. A number of bills were prepared and introduced at Lansing; some of them were utterly worthless as measures of reform. The Federation prepared a bill which, however, as originally drafted, was too thoroughly radical to meet with sufficient favor from the politicians. The Michigan Club also prepared a bill, and several of the features of the latter were incorporated into a modified form of the Federation bill, and this has passed both houses and awaits now a few minor verbal amendments and the signature of the governor in order to become a law. Under this new caucus law it will be impos-

sible for the old methods to be repeated. It provides, among other wholesome measures, for precinct caucuses instead of ward caucuses. The caucus must be conducted in an orderly way, as elections have hitherto been.

This much has been accomplished in the way of improving municipal conditions in Detroit. The limits of this paper will prevent a fuller discussion of important topics relating to our municipal life. Detroit has become quite famous among the cities of our country on account, among other things, of the aggressiveness and fearlessness of its mayor. That he has arrayed many influential men against himself and his administration, and that he has arrayed especially the corporations against him, is perhaps as well known to you as to the people of Detroit itself. That he has the masses of the people with him is confidently believed, and has been amply demonstrated in his repeated re-elections by higher majorities.

Detroit has also become famous for its agricultural idea, which has become known as the "Pingree Potato Farm." It is one of the most beneficent movements connected with our municipal life. The mayor deserves and has the credit for the origination of the idea, and multitudes of poor people in every part of the country wherever it is adopted will be benefited, as thousands have already been in the city of Detroit. It is no impracticable dream. It is a most beneficent thing in every way. It encourages self-respect in the poor instead of pauperizing them; it demonstrates the readiness of men to work for bread and potatoes whenever opportunity is afforded. It has resulted in sending into the country a number of those people who, finding that the earth can yield them food, have betaken themselves to farming to their own comfort and relief, and to the relief of the overcrowded portions of our city. The plan has been adopted in many of other cities, and is in every way feasible and highly commended.

The Civic Federation of Detroit has worked in a quiet way. We have had as yet no public meeting. We have denounced no one of our municipal officers, and have sought to work in

co-operation and harmony with the officials who are elected or appointed to places of influence and power. Our aim has been, therefore, to assist rather than to antagonize the paid public servants of the people in the discharge of their public duties. In order to enforce the law against the saloons a plan was projected and the several departments co-ordinated in its execution. We do not pretend to say that all the saloons since the new movement was inaugurated have been closed. We have entered a number of complaints against saloons that have been opened. We find that some of the larger saloons in the central portion are determined to violate the law ; but when some of them shall have been convicted, according to the announcement of the recorder's court, and sentenced to pay not only a fine but to serve a term in the House of Correction, we believe that all saloons will be closed in accordance with law.

The saloonkeepers in the city called the attention of the Federation to the injustice of closing them, while saloons just out of the city in the county were not closed. The attention of the sheriff was called to this violation of law on the part of these saloons, and his hearty co-operation was secured in enforcing law throughout the county. And for the first time in the history of Wayne County the saloons outside of Detroit are closed, and for the most part in the city as well.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF LOUISVILLE.

FRANK N. HARTWELL,PRESIDENT, GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT CLUB, LOUISVILLE, KY.

The great tidal wave of municipal reform which, starting in the East, has so rapidly spread over the country has afforded the student of social and economic laws much food for reflection. One feature of great interest is the fact that many men, already busy with matters heavily taxing their time and energies, have assumed the additional burden of solving the problems connected with our municipal life. It is a matter worthy of note that the unselfish effort to improve the conditions of the government of cities, which are the homes of the great masses of our fellowmen, is a recognition of the principle involved in the theory of evolution, that the struggle for life is not the sole end and aim of man and nature, but coequal and coeval with it is the struggle and self-sacrifice necessary for the life of others. As it presents itself to my mind, the municipal problem as it concerns the various large cities is simply one of degree and not difference. The same evils abound in all from the fact that the conditions are practically the same in all. The indifference and apathy of those who should be the most active in watching the city's affairs, coupled with the misdirected activity of the class who have been misled and imposed upon, have turned the management of important business matters over to the professional politicians, the spoils seeker, the contractor and the henchmen of the local political bosses. Louisville has had, in a measure, the same indifference, ignorance and municipal mismanagement to contend with that New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis and other cities have had. We have our machine; our political bosses; some unworthy men in office; the self-seeking contractor; the dishonest officer of election; the spoils seekers in

legion. We have also the discontent awakened by the conditions prevailing and a manifest disposition upon the part of our people to shake off the shackles which bind.

Even if the time allotted to me in which to speak upon the municipal condition of Louisville would permit I would not inflict upon you a recital of a tale which has already been oft told, inasmuch as you have heard of the condition of other cities. Neither do I wish to convey the impression that all our affairs are badly conducted, nor that all our city officials are dishonest or incapable. The conviction is forced upon me that our city government is what we have made it, inasmuch as we have permitted it to be as it is, and the responsibility is a divided one between those who have made conditions bad and those who looked on and permitted them to be made so. All efforts at reform do not speedily bear fruit, and at times in the haste to plant the wrong seed gets sown. I am reminded of the saying :

" To know thy bent and then pursue,
Why, that is genius, nothing less ;
But he who knows what not to do
Holds half the secret of success."

We became dissatisfied with our state constitution. We had a Constitutional Convention which labored long. We threw the old garment away and donned the new to find that in many ways it was a misfit, though quite becoming. Our city was granted a new charter. This charter was drawn up by a commission appointed by our present mayor, composed of three of our well-known citizens who possessed our confidence and respect. They presented the charter, the result of their careful efforts, to our General Council, which approved it. Our Board of Trade, Commercial Club and citizens generally endorsed it. It was sent to the legislature for adoption, and with the usual acumen accompanying legislation upon affairs pertaining to cities it was tattered and torn, patched up and then graciously bestowed upon us. In its main features, however, it is a good charter. The usual provisions are made for the government of the city by ordi-

nances passed by the General Council, and not in conflict with the state or national laws.

The board of council comprises twenty-four men, two from each ward, elected by the city at large. The board of aldermen of twelve men, elected from and by the city at large, the two boards being styled the General Council. The mayor's term is four years; salary \$5000. The board of public works and board of public safety are composed of three men each, salary \$3000. They constitute the executive boards, and have general control of affairs pertaining to their offices. There is also a board of park commissioners, composed of six men, elected by the citizens, none of whom receive salaries, though the president may receive one of \$2500. The mayor appoints the board of public works, board of safety, comptroller and city buyer, with approval of board of aldermen. The board of public safety appoints the chief of police and fire departments. The General Council elects the assessor, city attorney, live-stock inspector, etc., and the other officers are elected by the people. The school board is composed of two members from each of the seven legislative districts and elected by the people at large. Our laws are, in the main, good and are executed in about the same manner that the laws are in other cities.

The municipal problem presents itself to Louisville in about the same phases that it does in all large cities. Political influences are felt, and at times reflected in the execution or failure to execute the laws. It is difficult to successfully prosecute certain elements, and some abuses therefore exist, which should not and would not if political influences could be entirely removed.

Gambling is supposed to be suppressed, but, on the other hand, is known to be carried on, and upon a recent attempt of the grand jury to ferret it out a woful amount of ignorance was manifested upon the part of the police authorities. Our election laws are as nearly perfect as practical politics will permit. The Australian system, adapted to local requirements, is in use, and although all the provisions of the law are not fully carried out,

still elections are much more quietly conducted than prior to the present law. All or practically all elections occur on the same day, the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

The failure to get the full amount of benefit from the election laws has been brought about by the transfer of the fraud and corruption formerly practiced outside to the inside of the polls. Dishonest officers of election have thwarted the wishes of the voters. Attempt was made to convict parties supposed to be guilty of election frauds after our November election, but the attempt was not successful. In the case of the vote for judge of the court of appeals and the vote for tax receiver it was several months after the election before the contested count was settled.

The desire to improve the condition of our municipal government resulted in an informal meeting at my residence Saturday evening, February 2d, which was attended by our mayor, several clergymen, the Jewish rabbi, prominent business men, professional men and some politicians. They met at my invitation, without any information as to the nature of the business to be proposed. I had watched with intense interest the movements in other portions of our country looking to municipal reform, and was encouraged to think the movement was needed in our own city. After some discussion of an indefinite character our mayor stated that if it was proposed to do anything nothing short of organized permanent effort would be successful. A vote was taken and it was decided unanimously that a committee should be appointed looking to the formation of a club for municipal reform, this committee to report upon a plan and to submit constitution and by-laws. The committee became very much interested in the matter, investigated the working plans of many of your organizations, and finally submitted their report, which was adopted, and the result is the Good City Government Club of Louisville. What we propose to do is outlined in the declaration of purposes, which is as follows :

First.—To secure for our city a government based on honest business principles, in the interest of all its citizens, and to this end to arouse a public interest and promote and encourage a

healthy public sentiment in all municipal matters. Second.—To secure the total separation of municipal elections from national and state politics. Third.—To secure the appointment and service of the very best men in every precinct as registration and election officers, to the end that the will of every voter may be freely expressed by his ballot, and that all ballots, when cast, shall be honestly counted. Fourth.—To endorse and aid in the election of the very best men for municipal officers, regardless of their political preferences or station in life. Fifth.—To prosecute with relentless vigor all who violate registration and election laws, and all city officers who in any way transgress or violate the law or fail to properly enforce its requirements. Sixth.—To secure the removal of the police and fire department and all appointive positions under the city government from all political influences and the adoption of such rules as will secure to the men who fearlessly, impartially and with fidelity discharge the various duties of the position they hold against political interference, and to make all such appointments dependent upon the fitness of the applicant, and all promotions therein to be based upon fitness alone.

We do not claim the merit of originality for our principles. We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to you for the example set and the suggestions offered in your constitutions and by-laws. About six years ago, when there was more or less dissatisfaction expressed with our municipal affairs, I suggested a plan by which I thought they could be improved, but the time was not ripe for the movement. The baneful results of mismanagement in so many branches of the public service have aroused the citizens all over the country, and they are recognizing the fact that there are certain fundamental principles underlying municipal affairs, the correct application of which means prosperity, progress and general satisfaction, and the failure to properly apply these principles means depreciation and loss of property, increased burden of taxation and misappropriation of public funds. These principles have been so fully and clearly set forth by others that they are well understood by this time. Our plan

of action will be as follows : To arouse the citizens to action in the discharge of their obligations to the city ; to obtain their support in our efforts to secure an honest business administration of public affairs ; to obtain the services and appointment of the best men to serve as registration and election officers at the November election ; to compel all parties making nominations to put up men of character and fitness for the position they aspire to ; to endorse only such men as we think will accept the offices as public trusts, to be used solely in the interest of the citizens at large. Then we propose to continue our watch over the affairs of the city ; to assist the officers in the discharge of their duties as far as we can, and take necessary steps to have derelict officials punished or removed from office ; to remove political influence from the police and fire departments and appointive positions, and institute the principle of civil service reform so far as it can be done.

The spoils system is the great octopus which is strangling virtue, truth and honesty in public life. The weapon of destruction that must be used is the search light of public opinion, blinding and destroying the evils which follow the creed that to the victor belongs the spoils ; that dishonesty is legitimate in politics ; that the political party a man belongs to must be his infallible guide in municipal politics ; that a public trust is no trust ; that the political boss is *the* boss and that his mandate is the law, the right to the contrary notwithstanding.

In conclusion, I quote from Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth" as follows : " The newer frames of government are an improvement upon the older. Rogues are less audacious ; good citizens are more active. Party spirit is still permitted to dominate and pervert municipal politics, yet the mischief it does is more clearly discerned and the number of those who resist it daily increases. In the increase of that number and the growth of a stronger sense of civic duty rather than in any changes of mechanism lies the ultimate hope for the reform of city government."

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF CHATTANOOGA.

HON. GEORGE W. OCHS,
MAYOR OF CHATTANOOGA.

The government of the city of Chattanooga, Tenn., furnishes an apt illustration of the evil effects of state interference with a municipality, but it also clearly demonstrates that it is not so much the concrete law as a proper spirit among the authorities that produces the best results in city administration.

At each successive session of the state legislature for the past fifteen years, first one delegation and then another would appear to procure some radical changes in the city charter, so that now it is little less than a crazy-quilt patchwork of enactments. Each change was influenced either by some partisan or sinister motive, largely due to the fact that Chattanooga was until recently overwhelmingly Republican and the legislature largely Democratic. Correctives were sought to be applied in the hope of freeing the city from the control of an irresponsible set of machine politicians who had the solid negro vote absolutely at their beck and call. This negro vote was manipulated as a unit at the dictation of the Republican bosses. The tax payers and better element of the community were in a hopeless minority and naturally sought the Democratic legislature for relief, but a system of state administrative boards was thus fastened upon the city, the result of which has been to almost entirely destroy the principle of home rule and local self-government in our community.

The first important step was an amendment to the charter to provide for the appointment by the governor of three police commissioners, not over two to be of the same political party. This body was given complete control of the police department,

the sole power of appointing superintendent, captains and all patrolmen, also the right to fix its own budget of expenses to the exclusion of the mayor and aldermen, and is responsible to no authority except its own for the conduct of its business and the disbursement of its funds, being in all respects a supreme autocracy. When this amendment was enacted, Chattanooga's police force consisted of nearly as many negroes as whites; the race prejudice, which is strongest among the criminal classes, transformed these negro policemen from conservators of the peace into a constant menace to public tranquillity. The result of the commission has been the total exclusion of negroes from the police force. Opposition to negro police is shared by the conservative white Republicans in the South, who have realized by practical observation that under our social conditions negro police in fact foment more strife than they can suppress.

This relief through the legislature whetted the appetites of the politicians and at each subsequent legislative session further efforts were made to take away local self-government, but every attempt was fiercely opposed and was only partially successful.

At present we have two state administrative and executive boards, the police commission and a board of public works. The latter body is also appointed by the governor, and has executive control over everything pertaining to the streets and sewers, except the granting of franchises; it has also the right to fix its own budget, and is as much an autocracy as the police commission, wholly independent of the tax-raising power.

The city legislative body consists of the mayor and sixteen aldermen, two from each ward of the city. They are elected for two years, eight aldermen being chosen each year. The aldermen are elected by their respective wards, the mayor by the city at large. Through legislative interference the mayor is stripped of all executive power, having only a suspensary veto, which can be annulled by a majority vote of the aldermen. He has no appointive powers; he is president of the City Council and appoints the standing committees, but these can be altered by a majority vote of the aldermen. All the city officials, except the

police, the city engineer and the street force, are elected by the aldermen annually.

Public sentiment has been crystallizing for some time toward local self-government; an effort was made at the recent session of the legislature to abolish the board of public works, but it was defeated by interested partisans. The close vote between the two political parties in Tennessee, as developed in the last gubernatorial election, makes it probable that in the near future there will be important modifications in these administrative boards.

Legislative interference with municipal government by special enactments cannot be too strongly condemned. The citizens are the best judges of what their community requires. No governor now lives, and none will ever be discovered, who can choose officials to conduct the affairs of a city better than its own people; no present-day legislature, nor future legislature, unless the early days of the millennium are at hand, can properly administer the government of a city, which perhaps the great majority of the members never saw. Conceding that the municipality must be the creature of the legislature, yet all charter changes (if there must be any) should be general—to apply to all cities of the same class. The selection of all municipal officers should be a sacred trust reposed in each separate municipality. Under the gubernatorial appointive system a little coterie of politicians too often besiege the governor and dictate appointments to promote their selfish plans, and these are thrust upon the people without their sanction or approval.

The propaganda that this national association has so brilliantly inaugurated can direct its energies to no end that will be productive of more practical good than to promote a movement to stop all special charter tinkering by state legislatures. New York has started the ball rolling by giving the mayor a fifteen days' suspensary veto, and by classifying the cities. If charter changes were made general in each state, a local member or a little squad of politicians could not mould charter enactments like wax, for there would be too many cities concerned. In

Tennessee, and for that matter in nearly every state, municipal charters are subject to special laws, and when a change is sought it is placed in the category of "local bills;" a local member, if he be with the dominant party, can absolutely dictate the laws of any city within the boundary of his district; if he be not, two or three politicians, who have the ear of the legislative bosses, can procure any enactment that suits their peculiar purpose.

The selection of city officers should in every way possible be left to the people or should be vested in the executive. We have just had at Chattanooga a striking illustration of the blunder in delegating the selection of city officers to the aldermanic board. Our last city election in October resulted in a board consisting of ten Democrats and six Republicans. Immediately after the election the Democrats caucused to choose a city slate; they could not agree, and two Democrats withdrew and joined forces with the Republicans. Thus there were two factions of eight, one Democratic, the other hybrid. For over two months there was a deadlock. A quorum of the City Council would not meet, as the hybrid eight refused to attend any regular session. No standing committees could be appointed; all the business of the city was at a standstill, except when the mayor assumed the responsibility, without color of law, of attending to necessary matters. The controversy finally landed in the courts, and the deadlock was at length only broken by a notice from the mayor to the recalcitrants that unless they attended a meeting proceedings would be instituted to declare their office vacant. This resulted in a meeting, the first in over two months, and the city officers were finally elected by a defection in the ranks of the Democratic eight. Yet for over two months this disgraceful scramble had continued, the city affairs were in a turmoil, the entire community was disgusted and a vivid object lesson was given of the danger of delegating elective powers to aldermen, each one of whom will disclaim personal responsibility and shift it to others. This board was composed almost entirely of what is known as better citizens, and comprised some of the leading men in the community, men who have since demonstrated their business capability and their re-

gard for the best interests of the city ; and yet through the baleful influence of this vicious system of distributing offices as spoils of political engineery, they were willing to practically suspend all public business for a period of two months, and perhaps for a longer period had they dared.

The power of appointment ought to be in the executive head of the city, and he can then be held to strict accountability; if a bad appointment is made the responsibility can be easily located, and it is indeed rare that a mayor would abuse a power so closely scrutinized by his own people at such short range.

No doubt this recital of our municipal imperfections leads you to believe that Chattanooga is plunging headlong to destruction, and will soon be numbered with Sodom and Gomorrah as an example of divine retribution. But the above tale points a moral and indisputably proves that it is not the law, the legal environment that insures the best city government, but it is the personnel of those chosen to administer the law, their conscientious and faithful discharge of duty that after all accomplishes the good results ; a bad system administered by good men is far better than a good system manipulated by bad men. Right here I will remark that the true municipal reform can result only from the good citizenship of the good citizens and not from legal theories or legislative enactment. Put good men in office and you will have good municipal government, whether your municipal laws be good or bad. Doctor Parkhurst well says : " As well attempt to cure a consumptive by changing his clothes as to correct municipal abuses by changing political control." The corrective must come through the personal rectitude, the personal integrity and the personal purity of those in control, regardless of the political party with which they are allied.

From the summary of our charter, which has been the foot ball of politicians for fifteen years, it would be hard to conceive of a looser or more dangerous frame-work of fundamental law. It is bad in principle, faulty in construction, loosely amended, full of serious imperfections, pregnant with all the vicious re-

sults of state interference, and as a specimen of evil municipal theories would undoubtedly be awarded every medal; yet, notwithstanding this, in the face of the most disastrous panic that this country has known, which impeded and prevented the collection of all taxes during a period when our national government seemed to be tottering to bankruptcy under financial burdens with a deficiency of over \$100,000,000 per year staring it in the face, when cities all over America were borrowing money and issuing bonds to meet current expenses and supply tax deficits, even during that momentous period by the zealous, earnest efforts of our city administration fifty-eight per cent. of the floating debt of the city was wiped out in twelve months without raising the tax levy, and the actual expenses of the city were reduced twenty-one per cent. per annum. Moreover, in the six months following the tax levy was lowered, the floating debt of the city was entirely canceled, a still further reduction was made in city expenses, amounting to over fifty per cent. in two years, and all this was done without impairing the efficiency of any department.

How was this accomplished? The answer has been already given. By those in authority devoting personal, conscientious attention to the affairs of the corporation by giving its business the same scrutiny, the same thought, the same thorough consideration that they give to private or personal concerns. All legislative remedies are absolutely futile, and will accomplish nothing unless this spirit animates the officials. Careless, negligent public officers under ideal laws will not stop waste, prevent extravagance or revoke vicious methods; prudent, unremitting attention to details under the most pernicious laws can completely revolutionize expenses. It is not so much a question of methods as of morals. A "fee grabber," a dishonest official will "find a way" under any system.

To go more into details of the reforms accomplished in Chattanooga I herewith append a table showing the actual expenses (less interest and other fixed charges) of the city of Chattanooga in the years named:

	Actual expenses, less interest.
1891	\$302,144 45
1892	274,344 40
1893	256,136 09
1894	201,076 94
1895	189,200 00

It will be observed that the expenses in 1894 were over \$55,000 less than in 1893, being a reduction of twenty-three per cent., and in 1895 they are \$67,000, or twenty-six per cent. less than in 1893, thirty-three per cent. less than in 1892 and thirty-seven per cent. less than in 1891.

The tax levy has also gone steadily down, as the following will show :

	Tax levy.
1891	\$1 60 on \$100
1892	1 60 "
1893	1 30 "
1894	1 30 "
1895	1 25 "
1895-6 estimated	1 20 "

The gross disbursements in 1894, including interest and floating debts that were discharged, were \$289,253.63; the actual expenses, excluding old accounts that were liquidated, were \$201,076.94. The city's population in 1890, by the United States census, was in round numbers thirty thousand; to-day, including suburbs, it is, at least, forty-five thousand.

Estimating the population at thirty thousand during each of the past five years, the per capita expense of conducting the city in the years named, excluding interest charges, was as follows :

Year.	Population.	Per capita cost all expenses city government, exclud- ing interest charges.
1891	30,000	\$10 07
1892	30,000	9 14
1893	30,000	8 53
1894	30,000	6 70
1895	30,000	6 00

The tax valuation of the city was in round numbers during

each of the years named between \$16,000,000 and \$17,000,000 on a valuation of about sixty per cent.

The average annual expenses of four hundred and three American cities, according to the United States census, was eleven dollars and nine cents per capita in 1890; hence it will be seen that Chattanooga's expenses now are but little over fifty per cent. of the average. The city of Berlin is regarded as one of the best managed municipalities in the world; its total expenses amount to \$19,000,000 per year, its population is one million five hundred thousand, an annual per capita cost of twelve dollars.

The following figures from the United States census of 1890 give the per capita annual cost, except for loans and investments, of conducting twenty leading American cities:

	Per capita annual expenditures, except for loans and investments, including interest charges.
New York	\$24 50
Chicago	13 80
Philadelphia	13 10
Boston	32 63
Baltimore	14 02
San Francisco	18 86
Cincinnati	10 04
Cleveland	14 56
Detroit	16 61
Minneapolis	22 95
St. Paul	39 07
Providence	17 13
Albany	15 73
Columbus	24 23
Toledo	11 44
Richmond, Va.	15 43
Nashville	10 88
Atlanta	15 75
Charleston, S. C.	13 18
Hartford	17 64
Chattanooga	7 75

No complexity of new legislation explains this very favor-

able exhibit for Chattanooga. It is the result of putting into practical operation common laws which in the past "were honored more in the breach than in the observance;" of abolishing all useless offices; of wiping out the pernicious fee system; of fixing salaries at a reasonable figure. To illustrate how city offices were abolished and salaries revised: In 1892 we had twenty-three officials to perform certain functions of the city government, who were paid \$16,561 per year. In 1895 all were abolished except nine, who receive \$5610 per year, a saving in three years in salaries alone of over seventy per cent., and yet the city business is as carefully attended to as it ever was, in fact the people are receiving better service and nobody is underpaid.

There is no unraveling of any complex system of municipal legislation in this. No laws that Solon could devise, no legislative power on earth, no enactments conceivable by human mind could persuade a city that nine men at an average salary of about \$600 per year can do the work which before required twenty-three men at an average salary of \$800 per year—it takes something else. It requires the disposition, coupled with a courageous and honest determination on the part of those in authority to discharge a public duty as they would a private trust; it is public morals and private conscience harmonized and put into practical and effective operation.

GOOD AND BAD CITIZENSHIP.

How can this be attained? Certainly not by fine-spun theories. Surely not by the so-called "good citizens' meeting in a back office or on a street corner to pass ready-made resolutions deploring the degeneracy of the times in general and the corruption in municipal politics in particular. These so-called "good" citizens are not "good;" while not "bad" they almost become so by their shortcomings. Their failure to organize and operate for effective and practical work to correct the evils they so loudly complain of only gives zest to the spoilsmen and political bosses, while it weakens and disheartens those who could be made their useful auxiliaries.

The misfortune in our cities is the bad citizenship of good citizens. They shout aloud their woful lamentations, they indulge in tearful jeremiads, they sob in dire distress over the evils that prevail, but they are reduced to these lachrymosal lapses in the wrong place; either beneath some high vaulted temple as this, or on the night of election primaries when candidates are nominated, they pour out their sorrows in the bosom of their families in their comfortable drawing-rooms, and on election day they "go fishing," or become so absorbed in the contemplation of the evils that portend that they actually forget to vote. Study the election figures of all the cities of the United States; compare the vote for President, for Congress, for governor, to the vote for mayor or for aldermen, and what do you find? In nine cases out of ten—yes, the proportion is greater, the presidential vote is twice or thrice as large as the vote for mayor; it is so in my city, and I presume I am safe in saying that it is the case at the home of nearly every delegate here present. Whence comes the loss? Certainly not from "the machine," the "ward heelers," the "election b'hoys." The ward boss sees that "all de gang" is "properly voted" at least once, if not oftener, in every municipal election, for he very clearly realizes that his personal interests are more directly involved in the result of a city election than in a national election; so are the personal concerns of every so-called good citizen, especially if he be a taxpayer, for his home, his expense account, the moral tone of his community, his schools, his property, his health, his personal safety, his hearthstone are at stake, infinitely more in a municipal election than in a state or national contest. The good citizen must be taught that no city government can rise above the level of those governed. He must be taught that *theories* of civil government do not work reforms: that these can be attained only by *energies* in civil government. Sentiment is good enough and theories are fine educators, but while sentiment and theories are diffused through a precinct, perhaps, in the course of years, votes will sweep a whole city in a day.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF NEW ORLEANS.

WALKER B. SPENCER,SECRETARY, LOUISIANA BALLOT REFORM LEAGUE.

In 1882 the people of New Orleans in their vain effort to avoid what seemed a political Scylla, became engulfed in an equally dangerous Charybdis. Until 1870 New Orleans had been experimenting in a form of municipal government that had once before existed in a somewhat similar form in Louisiana during the half century in which this vast territory had been a colony of the Spanish king. This government in many important features resembled the "Cabildo" of Spanish times. Municipal authority, under the charter of 1870, was vested in a mayor and seven administrators, who were clothed with both executive and legislative functions. Each administrator was the head of a department, such as of finance, of assessments, of police, etc., and at stated intervals these officers met and sat as a Common Council and passed ordinances for the regulation of municipal affairs. In many respects this form was found most excellent, but it was enacted during the reconstruction period in Louisiana by a carpet-bag administration. This fact alone was enough to prejudice a large and influential class of citizens against it and cause them to deny it what real merit it did contain; and besides it most unfortunately fell upon evil times when the worst elements of the state were in power. The vast and widespread corruption of reconstruction times was attributed to the lack of limitations on the powers of officers and assemblies, and had so impressed the people with want of confidence in public officials that they had become jealous of the grant of even the narrowest authority. As soon, therefore, as this government was displaced the people set about framing one that should hedge the functions of the various branches of the government within such limits as to prevent a continuance of the extrav-

agance and corruption that characterized the previous administration. The spirit of the times was curtailment of official authority, and it is abundantly manifested in all the legislation of the day.

It was this spirit that caused the citizens of New Orleans to rebel against the concentration of authority in the hands of a few men, as was the case under the charter of 1870; but unfortunately they rushed to the other extreme, and by diffusing authority among many they have so lessened the sense of personal responsibility that the present form of government has proven even a more fruitful source of official corruption than that they so heartily congratulated themselves they were escaping.

The present city government of New Orleans, which is not unlike that of most cities of the United States, was created by a legislative charter in 1882. Municipal functions are accurately divided between an executive and a legislative department. The executive power is lodged in a mayor and four commissioners, who are the executive heads of the several departments of treasury, public buildings, etc. All of these officers hold office for four years, and are elected by the citizens at large. Their election may be contested in the courts, and they may be impeached by the City Council for gross misconduct or malfeasance, or removed by suit in the civil district court on the petition of twenty-five taxpayers. They are allowed the privilege of debating on the floor of the Council all matters relating to their respective departments, but have no vote. This is a privilege, however, that is but seldom exercised, and this valuable right is thus productive of but little good.

The mayor is the chief executive officer of the city; he is charged with the duty of enforcing the laws and ordinances passed by the Council; he presides at the meetings of the Council, has the right to vote in case of a tie; to debate on the floor and participate in the proceedings thereof. Until 1888 he had the power of appointing and removing at pleasure all police officers and patrolmen, but this power was so flagrantly used for political ends that it was in that year taken from him and

vested in a non-political board, much to the improvement of the efficiency of the police and to the curtailment of the mayor's political power.

The comptroller has charge of the fiscal affairs, and is the auditing officer of the city; the treasurer, the keeping and disbursement of all moneys received or appropriated. The commissioner of public works has control and general supervision over all matters relating to streets, canals, railroads, levees, weights and measures, wharves, and the construction, maintenance and repair thereof. The commissioner of police and public buildings has charge and control of all public buildings, cemeteries, and the lighting of the city. All of these departmental officers are responsible to the Council, and act under its direction and control.

The City Council, which is the legislative branch, is composed of thirty members, six of whom are elected from the six municipal districts (embracing several wards) into which the city is divided, and the remainder are elected from the fifteen wards of the city; and when a ward is entitled to more than one councilman, then it is divided into sub-divisions and a councilman is elected from each sub-division. The councilmen are voted for and elected by the voters of their respective wards or municipal districts.

The functions of this body are purely legislative, and the subjects upon which it has a right to legislate, while numerous, are specifically defined. Its powers are such as are usually vested in such bodies. It is vested with power to fix the compensation of all employees of the city and regulate the number thereof. To prevent hasty or corrupt action on its part, it must sit with open doors, and no ordinance shall pass unless it receives a majority vote of the members elected, nor shall any ordinance be passed at the same meeting at which it is introduced, but must be read in full and lie on the table until the next meeting. These provisions, together with the power of veto by the mayor, should be adequate to prevent corrupt legislation, if backed by a strong and healthy public sentiment.

The present city charter was drawn by eminent lawyers and men whose patriotism and good intentions could not be questioned. It was the subject of careful discussion and consideration, and is in many respects a most excellent instrument. It clearly defines the duties of the several officers and limits their powers within certain definite bounds. It as carefully guards the revenues and expenses of the city as can be done by statute; and to this end specifically provides how the Council shall determine, and what shall constitute the basis of revenue, and prohibits the inclusion of miscellaneous and contingent resources, or the affixing thereto either an arbitrary or nominal value or amount; but requires all resources to be estimated on a substantial and real basis, giving the source whence same is to be derived and the specific sum to be received from each source. It prohibits any appropriation or expenditure based on resources to be derived from any indefinite source, cause or circumstance, and denies the Council, under any pretext, the right to appropriate more than 75 % of the estimated revenues, and reserves the other 25 % and such other income as it may receive from other sources, for public improvements.

Besides the regular expenditures for that purpose by the city itself, ample authority is given by means of local assessments or forced contributions on property holders for the promotion of public improvements in the way, for instance, of paving streets and sidewalks, and the construction and maintenance of a system of drainage. These provisions, while they have been taken advantage of under corrupt administrations to an oppressive extent by companies and persons engaged in contracting for public works, are, nevertheless, not unmixed evils, and have resulted in producing a great amount of good in the way of better public improvements.

Of the faults to be found with the present form of government of New Orleans is that all of its officers are underpaid. Their salaries are entirely out of proportion to the duties of the offices, which in a city the size of New Orleans necessarily

requires so much of the official's time that his own private affairs, if he has any, must suffer in consequence.

Another fault is that the most important functions are vested in a Council of thirty men, who are elected from small constituencies, and who receive no pay whatever for the really arduous and important duties they are called upon to perform. For any councilman to properly discharge his duties, a greater part of his time must be devoted to the city's affairs. If he is active, he is in constant attendance at committee meetings, in which the most important work is done, and when questions of importance are under consideration his constant presence is required. Yet such a man is expected to thus conscientiously devote his time and energies to the thankless task of trying to please an ungrateful public, without pay or emolument of any kind. Besides, in such a large body the sense of personal responsibility is necessarily proportionately diminished; and thus one of the most efficient safeguards against wrongdoing is destroyed, for what seven men would not dare do, thirty might do without hesitation.

This system with that of ward representation, seems to have been adopted with the idea that it would be less susceptible to corrupt influences; that an election of the members by small constituencies would make the individual members feel their responsibility the more by reason of the fact that they would be held accountable by a small and definite body of citizens; and also with the probable view that such a system would insure permanent white supremacy, which at that time was considered of prime importance even in municipal affairs. The non-payment of councilmen and the inadequate payment of executive officers was brought about by a desire to retrench expenses and administer the city's affairs as economically as possible; a penny wise and a pound foolish policy that has resulted in depriving the city of the services of those best able to economically administer its affairs.

The working of this system has plainly exposed its many faults. It has been found that the Council as organized is

readily susceptible to corruption and control by cliques; that elections by wards, instead of by the citizens at large, enables those bosses who have control of their wards (and eight out of the fifteen wards of the city are dominated by that class), to elect their henchmen to the Council in defiance of public sentiment; that such councilmen are entirely subservient to the interests of the bosses and the cliques that control them. It is, moreover, difficult to secure men of ability and integrity, who are willing to undertake the duties incident to such a position, when it must be done without compensation and at a sacrifice of their own private interests. The result is that only professional politicians or men who hope to reap a harvest by dishonest conduct seek, or desire to occupy a seat in that body; but to such men the position opens the way to prosperity and ease; that those best fitted for the position accept same with reluctance and only from a sense of public duty.

But the present deplorable condition of municipal administration in New Orleans cannot be said to result entirely from the deficiencies of the present system of government. More accurately speaking, the form of government is but a condition, and the causes lie beyond and are even found in the fundamental law itself. I take it, however, not to be within the scope of this paper to discuss them, and if it were, its limits would prevent, but it is only proper to indicate them in as brief a manner as possible. *First.*—The provision of the constitution requiring municipal elections in New Orleans to be held on the same day as state elections injects into all such elections issues that are entirely foreign thereto, and which necessarily obscure the real merits of such local contests and lend a force to the candidacy of the ringsters that otherwise would not exist. *Second.*—The pernicious provision of the constitution regulating the suffrage which not only gives the franchise to native born and naturalized citizens, but also extends it to all resident foreigners who have declared their intention to become citizens. The result of this is to give the ballot to thousands of immigrants from the slums and prisons of Italy and Southern Europe, whose temporary

residence in New Orleans, the entry port annually of a large number of such people, is taken advantage of by the politicians to secure by them the necessary declaration of intention to enable them to be registered as voters. There is thus added to the corruptible vote of the city a large number of ignorant, irresponsible men, many of whom do not even remain in the state long enough to cast a vote; but they always leave their registration papers in the hands of their political mentors to be used for repeating as the occasion may require. *Third.*—Inadequate and dishonest election and registration laws. Neither, I regret to say, notwithstanding the solemn declaration in their titles, were intended to insure absolute purity of the ballot. They were framed in the days, now most happily past, when the people of our state were forced to meet a condition of affairs thrust upon them by the fortunes of war, such as a people have seldom had occasion to face. These laws were the results of the exigencies of the times, and whether they were dictated by necessity and wisdom under the conditions then existing or not, we have no present concern. They have born their legitimate fruits, and the abuses which they permit have been used to the fullest extent in perpetuating a ring more dangerous, because more intelligent, than the one they were intended to destroy. And lastly, and perhaps of prime importance in the production of corrupt government in New Orleans, there seems to be a disinclination to sacrifice personal comfort and interest under the present conditions by taking part in elections, when it is realized that the frauds of their opponents can only be counterbalanced and prevented by a determination to protect their rights, even if it require a resort to force.

Under these conditions in the present city administration, system of government has produced some startling results. In 1892 the people of Louisiana were divided on a great moral issue—the Lottery—and in the strife that followed the professional politicians were able to secure more complete control of the city government than ever before. All municipal offices are held by ward bosses or their followers, and their success so

intoxicated them that hardly were they well seated before they commenced their carnival of plunder and corruption. The men composing this administration were mainly of small means, and some of the councilmen were dependent upon their daily toil for their support, but notwithstanding their salaries were meagre, or nothing at all, it was not long before they took on an air of prosperity, ceased to labor at their usual vocations, and waxed mightily in the goods of this world.

The present administration is justly regarded as the worst New Orleans has had for many years. Every valuable franchise that the Council or the men who control it could discover has been sold for a long period of years to favored persons; and every scheme that promised profit to them or places to the faithful has been tried. The limits of this paper prevent a review of the many acts of corruption committed by the present administration, but a few instances will suffice to substantiate the charge. To one individual who controls a large electric light plant was sold the privilege of lighting the streets and public places for a term of ten years at an extravagant price. This contract was sold after only ten days' advertisement, and under the express condition that should any other bidder be successful he should buy the plant of the favored contractor at an estimated price. It is needless to say he was the only bidder. This same individual also had sold to him under conditions impossible for all but him, and after ten days' advertisement, the contract to remove the city's garbage, for a period of twenty-five years at an average annual price of \$150,000. He also was able to persuade the Council that it was to the city's interest to sell a valuable street railroad franchise for fifty years, the price thereof to be paid in a certain amount of Rosetta Paving gravel, which was only to be had from pits owned by that gentleman. Following close upon these, came the sale of other railroad franchises under conditions that virtually shut out competition, and all were secured by the same clique. Notwithstanding that they were assailed by the press, denounced by mass meetings, and often checked by the courts, the Council continued to allow valuable franchises to its

favorites with a liberal hand. New and useless offices have been created by the score to give places to the followers of the bosses that control the city's affairs. In the department of public works, for instance, at the present time the inspectors and ward foremen almost equal in number the laborers they superintend.

The climax came when it granted *gratis* to the same clique a franchise of great value to operate a belt railroad, and dedicated one of the principal residence streets to its use. This action aroused such indignation that threats of personal violence were made, and the demand for the repeal of the ordinance was made in such unmistakable tones that the Council hastened to repeal it. But by this time the long-suffering community was aroused, and associations were formed to investigate the condition of municipal affairs. As a result, thirteen councilmen were indicted for bribery and extortion in office, and three have since been convicted. Impeachment proceedings were begun against the mayor in the courts, and though he was successful in the trial, it is hoped he will be removed by the appellate court. To recite the progress of the present administration is but to recount the sacrifice of the city's best interest, and the complete prostitution for personal and political ends by its officers of their official powers. No private individual could obtain the most paltry privilege without being subjected to corrupt demands, and unless he complied his request was promptly refused. The lesson taught the people by this administration has proven a most profitable one, and will, it is hoped, help to bring about the end of boss rule in this city.

For the final redemption of the city the people now look to the Ballot Reform League and the Citizens' Protective Association. The former was organized in March, 1894, with the avowed purpose of securing the adoption of honest election and registration laws; the latter is specially devoted to the securing of an honest city government. It is almost needless to say, after what has been said, that each has a fertile field to work, and one in which nothing but hard, continuous and conscientious work will accomplish permanent good results.

In brief, the present efforts for reform as outlined by these

associations seem to be upon these lines: 1. A qualification of the suffrage by the insertion of an educational or property clause, and limiting the right of suffrage to native born or naturalized citizens. 2. The adoption of proper registration laws for the prevention of fraudulent registration and repeating at elections. 3. The adoption of the Australian ballot system, as it exists in Massachusetts, with such modifications as are necessary. 4. The concentration of municipal power in the hands of a few well-paid officers elected by the citizens at large and invested with well-defined powers. And the inclination at present is to return to the old "bureau system," which was outlined in the opening of this paper, as presenting the most desirable form of government for this city. 5. The separation of municipal from state elections.

These two organizations will co-operate at the next election, and have, since their organization, bent their energies to put themselves upon a good fighting basis, and their joint membership now exceeds five thousand, but it will require heroic work to succeed under the difficulties confronting them.

First.—They have to contend against a well-organized political organization in possession of the offices and unscrupulous in the use of the power incident thereto. *Second.*—An election law that was framed to meet the conditions existing in this state when its people were contending for white supremacy, and one, therefore, lodging tremendous power in incumbent administration and the election of officers who are its appointees. *Third.*—A registration law permissive of the grossest frauds, which has been used to its fullest extent by their opponents so that it is now estimated at least six thousand of the forty-two thousand registration papers issued are fraudulent. *Fourth.*—They will have to act as independents, as their opponents control the regular party organization.

All this means that they will be without representation in the polls; that a large part of the six thousand false registrations will be voted by their opponents unless some means can be invented

to thwart them, and that all the election machinery (which is a more than ordinarily powerful agent in our state) will be used against them to whatever extent their opponents may dare to do so. But they are fearfully in earnest, and the public generally is aroused to the necessities of the occasion, and it may be well for the bosses and ballot box experts to have a care, for the people's measure of submission is full, and in this city their temper at such times is not to be trifled with. If at the election in April, 1896, the reformers are successful, and the pending amendments to the constitution limiting the suffrage are adopted, I confidently believe that whoever may have the pleasure of representing our organization at your next convention will be able to report a change of affairs that will be no less gratifying to you than to the people of New Orleans.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF OMAHA.

REV. GREGORY J. POWELL,
SECRETARY, OMAHA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

Forty-one years ago the postmaster of Omaha carried around his office in his hat. To-day there is nearing completion a post-office building which occupies a whole block, and will cost about \$2,000,000. The straggling Indian village has become a city of one hundred and fifty thousand people, and of this growth nearly four-fifths has come in the past fifteen years. In 1865, thirty years ago, the poet Saxe wrote, after a visit to Omaha, the following verses :

" Hast ever been to Omaha
Where flows the dark Missouri down,
Where four strong horses scarce can draw
An empty wagon through the town ?

" Where sand is blown from every mound
To fill your eyes and ears and throat,
Where all the steamers are aground
And all the shanties are afloat,

" Where taverns have an anxious guest
For every corner, shelf and crack
With half the people going West
And all the others going back ?

" Where theatres are all the run
And bloody scalpers come to trade,
Where everything is overdone
And everybody under-paid."

Please remember that these verses were written by a stranger of Omaha *thirty years ago* on a wild and windy day in 1865, not 1895. A city leaping from thirty thousand in 1880 to over one hundred thousand in 1890, located where the sun shines after he

has lighted up Chicago and St. Louis, in the very heart of the boundless West, with agricultural, range and mineral resources which promise continuous colossal growth. It is not strange that a city, eager to woo to its budding enterprises the venture-some capital of older and more conservative communities, should, amidst the bustle and confusion of such times, barter away rights and franchises of such great value that now in the quieter days of sober reflection we are led, like Esau of old, to weep that so readily we parted with our birthright. Omaha has been the headquarters of the Union Pacific Railroad for over thirty years. It is not to be wondered if something of the same spirit, dominant in that and kindred Western institutions, should find expression in municipal affairs.

The election for the city is held on the same day with the general election. Omaha is the only municipality in the state of which this is the case. We elect a mayor, clerk, treasurer, comptroller, police judge and nine councilmen at large every two years, and in the years alternating with this general city election we elect nine councilmen, one from each ward. Our City Council consists of eighteen aldermen, who are paid \$800 a year each. The board of public works, consisting of a chairman and two commissioners, is appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the Council. Our board of fire and police has been made up of five men appointed by the governor of the state, excepting the mayor, who is *ex officio*, its presiding officer. It is tri-partisan, and is made up at present of two Republicans, two Populists and one Democrat. Our board of park commissioners is appointed by the district court, and may be said to be entirely out of politics. Our board of health is strictly in politics; like the board of public works; it consists of the mayor, a health commissioner, chief of police, plumbing inspector and two councilmen, chairmen of the streets and sewer committees. The health commissioner is appointed by the mayor with the concurrence of the Council.

While we do not believe our city government is the worst, neither do we regard it as perfect. We could wisely cut our

board of aldermen in two and thus have nine instead of eighteen men, as at present. We suffer also from a too great division of authority and responsibility in the executive departments. Only with the consent of the Council can the mayor appoint the city engineer, the board of public works and the health commissioner. There is a constant contest on between the departments and the Councils. When bad work is done the fault cannot be traced to any one in particular. All inspectors are appointed by our political board of public works, and the result is this important department is feeding ground for partisan cormorants without regard to their qualifications. The same is true of the board of health. The health commissioner is a partisan choice and the positions of inspector are meted out to the various members of the board for their friends.

Franchised corporations, living upon the rights and privileges given by the City Council, are a constant menace to good government in Omaha. They are the ring. Before the city election in 1893, I have it on good authority, the various corporations held a meeting, through their representatives, and agreed upon the men who should be supported for the City Council, and agreed also to stand by and help each other. When the smoke and noise of the election were passed it was found that they were in the saddle. This Council would, of course, only confirm such men for the board of public works as were agreeable to the corporations and contractors which made their election possible. Although, thanks to our mayor, whose pen has great and ready vetoing action, this Council has been kept fairly in check. Home rule for the city is a greatly needed reform with us, but these corporations defeat it in the state legislature. The constant meddling with the city charter by a state legislature, wholly unacquainted with the needs of the city, is a vexatious source of trouble. Last winter earnest, thoughtful men worked for months upon amendments to the charter and had their work so bungled in the state legislature that in mercy to the city the governor vetoed the whole thing.

We need our state constitution so amended that franchises can only be given by vote of the people, and that all important changes in the administration of the city government shall in like manner be referred to the voters for ratification. We suffer also from the confusion of our city government with state and national issues, and all the more because our municipal election is held at the same time as the general election. At the last election our city papers scarcely devoted a line to the local interests, and indeed, quietly the city and state officers were traded in a shameful and conscienceless way.

Another hindrance with us is the introduction of the sectarian principle into our city government. I know no more immediate obstacle in the way of good government than this. A certain element would disqualify men of a particular religious faith from holding any office, as though all that is needed to have honest, efficient municipal government is to elect men to office who believe that members of that particular religious communion should not hold office, and that they themselves should. If all that is claimed be true, it is only curing one evil with another. As long as this secret, politico-irreligious element is dominant in our city the day of good and efficient city government cannot come.

Our Municipal League, which is somewhat closely patterned after the plan of the Civic Federation of Chicago, has been at work about a year. Public meetings have been held and some literature distributed to make the voters acquainted with the movement. We have passed through one election, and have had, we believe, a determining hand in the election of some good men to the City Council. We have taken some part in the discussion of amendments to our city charter. We have just had our annual meeting and have elected a strong central council, with a secretary who will devote all his time to the work of municipal reform. We think this is fair progress for the first year of our League.

Our situation is much like that of the Israelites of old. The Philistines of corporate greed and partisan spoils are

camped, not about but within our city. Indeed, they have taken our citadel, the City Hall, and have trained their guns so that they easily command every street and alley. Our people, like the ancient people, quake and tremble before the mighty host. For years we have paid a heavy tribute to these municipal freebooters. Civic pride has languished, and we have feared that our city must always remain cowed and hopeless under the tyrant's heel. But a shepherd boy has come among us, who believes in God and righteousness, and whose rising indignation has given birth to a mighty purpose, that in the name of God and the people he will go out and slay the giant and put to rout the army of the Philistines. The shepherd boy is the reform organization, called the Municipal League. It does not set out in the partisan armor of a Saul, but rather with the simple sling of municipal, non-partisan, non-sectarian city government. We have five smooth stones for our sling, or rather rocks of municipal truth. They are as follows: First, "Every citizen must take his part in the government of the city." Another is that "city government is business, not politics," and therefore a third is "the separation of city from state and national issues." Our fourth missile is "that the business of the city should be entirely on the merit basis," and our fifth is that "the city must own and operate, in the interests of all the people, what franchised corporations now monopolize for their private enrichment." It may not be this year, and it may not be next, but in less time than it took David to work his way from the position of sheep herder to be Israel's king, we expect to seat municipal reform upon our civic throne.

Indeed, at this time the prospects are very good for a city election in the coming autumn, which will be a splendid educational campaign for municipal reform.

The elements of our city favorable to a business rather than a partisan administration are coming together on a municipal reform platform. We expect to have the hearty and full cooperation of one, at least, of our great daily papers, a paper

which ranks well to the front in all the western part of our country.

We sincerely hope and believe that Omaha will be found well up near the head in the great civic procession marching toward the ideal in municipal government.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF DENVER.

HON. PLATT ROGERS,
EX-MAYOR OF DENVER.

The natural conditions which conduce to the bodily health and spirit of the individual in Denver serve also to assure a large degree of municipal morality. This is a claim that may be considered novel, simply because it has never been made before; but to one conversant with our situation it will receive a hearty support after a moment's reflection. The strikingly perfect location of the city, and its natural adjustment to the comfort and convenience of a large population, have supplied without cost many of the advantages which in nearly every other American city were obtained only by a large draft on the public purse. There have been no tremendous problems to solve at great expense with incidental great corruption and waste. There have been no hills to reduce; no swamps to fill; no artificial and expensively maintained contrivances have been required to overcome the obstructions or to supply the deficiencies of nature. The established grade of our streets corresponds to the natural grade; the fall toward the river as the great drainage channel of the city is easy; the soil is dry, porous, free from rock, and cheaply moved; there is perfect freedom from miasmatic vegetable growth. All municipal work, therefore, has been of the simplest character, and while there may have been some exceptions, it may be safely said that jobbery, if it has existed, has been so slight as to cause no particular inquiry.

So far as expenditures of public money are concerned, there have been no scandals, though it is true that at times there has been the waste of inefficiency and more or less of petty thievery. It may be fairly said that much of this apparent honesty has been caused by the absence of opportunity. Nevertheless, it is

due to the people of Denver to say that their energies have been brought to the promotion of private enterprises and to the development of the vast resources that surround them. Until this promising western field is more thoroughly occupied than now, no one need feel called upon to exploit the public revenues. The municipal evils causing the most pronounced complaint have been of a character not so distinct as in other American cities.

Denver possesses about one-third of the voting population of the state. She also possesses a fair share of ambitious statesmen. The control of the municipal organizations has been believed to be an important adjunct in securing local political preferment, and it has hitherto been looked upon as indispensable to personal success in the struggle for the more dignified, if not more important, offices of governor and United States senator. The open and shameless bribery of the voters and the fearless prostitution of the ballot box have scarcely been equalled elsewhere. The police force came to be looked upon as a political force. In the performance of its duties as the conservator of the ambition of the political bosses, the honest citizen found it extremely hazardous at times to attempt to vote under his own name. Ballot boxes were spirited away, returns altered and the will of the people thoroughly negatived.

But that condition has happily almost entirely passed away. Various causes have contributed to the improved condition. The removal from the mayor of the power of appointing the fire and police force, and the investment of a board of fire and police to be appointed by the governor with that authority was supposed to be a short and sure cut to relief. It is true that this measure did have a beneficial influence in the election immediately succeeding the creation of the board, but it may be doubted at this day whether the antidote has not proven to be worse than the poison. So far as the legislature was able to give relief, it accomplished more by the introduction of the Australian ballot system than by any shifting of official responsibility. In the opinion of the author of this paper, however,

the most substantial and lasting work in behalf of honest elections was done by the brilliant and persistent efforts of Mr. Pence, afterwards a member of Congress, who during nearly two years followed through the courts the man who was fraudulently counted in as mayor in 1889, and succeeded in the face of tremendous obstacles in having him ousted upon proof so irrefragable that the wrongdoers realized for the first time that their methods could not safely be repeated.

As the board of fire and police was instituted to prevent the debasement of the fire and police force by the mayor, so also the board of public works was created to prevent the public improvement moneys being squandered by the City Council. Both measures expressed a distrust by the people of their ability to select honest and capable men. The spirit which produced them was foreign to the American theory of government and utterly destructive of individual responsibility. It, moreover, had the effect, by reason of the fragmentary character of the legislation, to produce a badly adjusted municipal force, and a consequent necessary increase of public expenditures without any increase of benefits.

This led to the first real attempt to secure a more perfect administration of city affairs along the line now universally admitted to be the true one, viz., "the municipal government is business, not politics." The Chamber of Commerce in 1892 appointed a committee to draft a charter to be submitted to the legislature for its approval and adoption. After a very careful investigation of the merits of the charters of the several American cities, aided by the literature devoted to municipal reformation and the experience of the members of that committee, an instrument was produced which had for its main features: (1) An arrangement of the work of the departments of the city corresponding to that of corporate concerns of similar scope designed to avoid clashing and to secure definite results at a minimum of cost; (2) the appointment of all heads of departments, except where the work was not strictly administrative in character, by the mayor, with power of removal and absolute responsibility

cast upon him for efficient and economical service ; (3) the application of civil service rules in the employment and discharge of men ; (4) checks and counter-checks in the disposition of public money, the making of public contracts and the granting of municipal franchises.

This instrument was bitterly assailed and its most beneficent and advanced features condemned. On the one hand it was found unresponsive to the political necessities of the then dominant party, and on the other it was urged that it would increase the ability of certain corporations to control city affairs and secure favorable concessions. It met the two forces that have everywhere, and will everywhere, do more to retard true municipal government than all other forces combined. This charter was able to escape the legislature with some of its essential virtues left. Its general features, however, indicated a vexed paternity. The mayor remained a figurehead, the boards were continued and the salary roll was enlarged and increased. Altogether, the result was unsatisfactory.

The Populist party, the then dominant party in the state, had the governor, and he had the power of appointing the members of the boards of fire and police and public works. The elected officers of the city administration were Republicans. While the members of the two boards might lay out the work and select the employees, the latter controlled the purse strings. The governor had been a resident of the western part of the state. He was not conversant with either the needs of the city or the character of its people. He came here as the representative of a party, and his advisers were, necessarily, voluntary advisers of his own political faith, who thought that the opportunity of strengthening the party according to the old spoils system should not be foregone, and the governor seemed in no wise unwilling to listen to and act upon these suggestions. Then followed a reign of political terror, during which political heads were dropped in the basket with as unrelenting celerity as marked the actual decapitation of a more historic '93. At first, the victims were selected with the advice of political friends, but as the governor

grew in knowledge of the situation, he scorned their advice, and those who had started this Saturnalia soon found that they were engulfed in the slaughter which they had aided in inaugurating.

While this ancient method of propaganda prevailed, and it seemed that a new political machine was being built that threatened the local existence of the party in control of the other departments of the city government, the latter were not slow to minimize the real munitions of party, and the appropriations for the principal executive departments were radically reduced. This, of course, had two highly virtuous results; it destroyed the ammunition of the enemy, and laid the foundation for a claim of unparalleled economy in the administration of city affairs. The practical result to the city was that for many months there was, to all intents and purposes, no government. The money spent on the police, except for the relief it gave in its circulation, might as well have been cast into the fire. This battle of the contending political forces finally drew in an important arm of the county government, together with patriotic organizations and monopolistic corporations. Even the gambling houses and other illegal business enterprises felt the thrill of warfare and cast their fortunes with their friends.

The leaders in this conflict, as they were officially decapitated, carried their heads into the camp of the enemy, and placing them on again, doffed their caps to a new banner. Thus the strife continued, drawing in, willingly or unwillingly, practically every department of the state, and an important arm of the Federal Government. First, the judiciary was appealed to; then the sheriff's constabulary came to the fore; then the military stepped in; then the courts were again appealed to; then the Chamber of Commerce came with the oil of healing; then more military was called for; then the Federal troops marched into town to protect the mail boxes; then the Federal Government was telegraphed to. And in the midst of all this, the City Hall was filled with an improvised army; dynamite was placed in its tower sufficient to slaughter thousands of innocent beings; the national guard marched to the City Hall; the artillery was trained on the building, and everybody was ready for the fray.

The telegraph wires were kept hot with dispatches detailing the movements of the contending forces, and the people of Colorado were vindicating the belief that they belonged to the wild and woolly West.

And what was it all about? Why, the people of Denver had invited legislation founded upon the assumption that the only way to have a good government was to select a governor from Aspen or some other remote point, who should come to Denver and appoint the officers of its different executive departments. And what was more important still, they had renounced that which had been secured to them by the blood and treasure of their fathers, the right of self-government. And thus it has been in Denver and ever will be in every American city. No truly successful municipal organization can be secured except through the civic pride and patriotism of its citizens, expressed in their confidence in their ability to select and hold responsible their public servants.

For the purpose of advancing this doctrine and to aid in all possible ways the administrative, moral, educational and artistic development of the city, a few gentlemen organized a municipal reform club, which they called "The Municipal League of Denver." The growth of this organization was intentionally slow, it being the aim of the promoters to secure a membership composed not of those who looked kindly on all movements designed to advance the welfare of the city, but of those who were aggressively interested in bringing about results. Its existence and mission were not made public until the fall of the year 1894. Then its membership was practically filled, and its declaration of principles published. Following the lead of all similar bodies it declared that the highest principles of municipal self-government would be materially promoted by the absolute separation of municipal politics from national and state politics, and the material prosperity of the citizens would be advanced by the control of municipal affairs upon exclusively business principles. To accomplish such results the League has repeat-

edly affirmed its adherence to the principles of civil service reform.

As a part of its effective work, the League undertook a revision of the city charter, substantially concurring in the provisions of the charter as drafted two years before by the committee of the Chamber of Commerce. As the state had been redeemed at the fall elections, that is, the Republicans had regained the offices lost two years before, the situation seemed propitious for such amendments as would forever establish the claim of the redeemers upon the gratitude of the community. With the incoming of the legislature a bill to amend the city charter was promptly introduced by a member of the House, containing some really meritorious features. The bill was duly considered by a committee of the League, and about the time the changes believed by the League to be necessary to perfect the charter were formulated, the bill was taken up in the absence of its friends, and it figured no longer in the proceedings of that body.

We have to report, therefore, that so far as the charter is concerned, we have made no progress. The substantial departments of the city government are still confided to the paternal sentiments of the governor. The executive no longer comes from the mining regions of western Colorado, but from the farming and stock-raising regions of the southern part of the state where they are presumably better versed in the intricacies of city government. Before the spring campaign recently closed in Denver, it was thought that the League might undertake to secure a non-partisan ticket. It made the attempt, but the political and other influences that have heretofore dominated were not dismayed. They nominated their ticket and elected it. Whereas it was not long since supposed that the offices could only be well filled by Populists, it is now declared that the efficient administration of affairs can be secured without going outside of the Republican party.

But notwithstanding all this, the people of Denver are not enamored of politics in municipal affairs. They are not pre-

pared to say that things are as bad as they might be, but they are certain that they might be better. As they are determined to have everything of the best, it remains only in the order of progress to reach the municipality, and it is the hope of the League and its well-wishers that not many sessions of this national body will be held before true and complete municipal reform has been established in Denver.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF PORTLAND.

THOMAS N. STRONG,CHAIRMAN, "TAXPAYERS' COMMITTEE OF 100."

The city of Portland, Ore., presents an interesting example of the spontaneous growth of extravagance and corruption in municipal affairs in a place and under circumstances where there would seem to be no inducing causes. In January, 1860, it was an isolated village of twenty-nine hundred and seventeen inhabitants, nestled in a little opening in the apparently endless forests of the Douglas fir that then covered its present site. Its growth has been steady and unbroken, and it is now a beautiful city of seventy-five thousand inhabitants in the midst of a cultivated district, with environments and advantages unsurpassed by any city of its size in the world. It has been peculiarly happy in the character of its inhabitants, and from its very isolation has escaped the great European outpouring to which New York and other cities have been subjected. No gold mines in its vicinity have developed the gambling spirit that at one time was so manifest in San Francisco; yet it has prospered in perfectly legitimate ways until it has become one of the wealthiest cities of its class in the world. For much of its career isolated with a cultivated, conservative and American population, abundantly prosperous and with rare surroundings of refinement and beauty, the people of Portland have had an almost unique opportunity of showing their capabilities as city builders, and yet, after all, they have evolved only the weak, corrupt municipal government unfortunately common to this country. The people, intent on making money, allowed a few politicians, from time to time, by struggles amongst themselves, to determine the right to the possession of the city, and whoever acquired control was allowed to do what he would with all of its departments.

For over thirty years not one citizen in ten knew what the annual tax levy was. At almost every term of the state legislature a new city charter was either projected or enacted, and so absorbed were the people in their private affairs, and so easy were they in their fool's paradise, that it is said that the contents of the last city charter, enacted two years ago, were only known before its passage to two members of the legislature. Under its present charter the city is governed by a mayor and Common Council, with the usual powers, the Council having many executive functions. The fire and police departments are each controlled by the mayor through a board of three commissioners. The street departments, sewerage, parks, crematory and other branches of the city work are controlled practically by Council committees. The salary of the mayor is fixed at \$5000, and the pay of councilmen at \$1000 per year, and many other salaries are provided for at the same excessive rate. Aside from its weakness and extravagant provision for salaries the charter is not particularly objectionable; and in the hands of proper officials a decent city government could be conducted under it.

The return for a vast expenditure, all made in the last five years, has not been satisfactory. Some commissions and committees have done good work, but taken as a whole the management of the city's business has, in efficiency and honesty, fallen far below that of the average of ordinary commercial establishments; and it has paid liberally for many things it has never received.

Early in the autumn of 1893 the full awakening came. Under the pressure of the prevailing financial stringency several banks failed and city and county funds, to the extent of over \$300,000, were tied up in the suspended banks. A shameless laxity was found to exist in the management of city and county affairs and in the handling of public moneys. Taxpayers' meetings were held, and out of this arose the famous Taxpayers' Committee of 100, which was practically self-constituted, and at its inception without any very definite purpose or fixed organization. Under the pressure of public opinion it rapidly organized,

and sub-dividing into many sub-committees, commenced a rigid examination of all the city and county departments. At first the unprecedented fact of citizens examining into the conduct of city and county affairs and into the expenditure of public moneys was bitterly resented, but public opinion, now fully aroused, soon brought the recalcitrant public officials to a better appreciation of their proper position. The leading political newspapers, eager for news and not at the time aware of the importance of the movement or of its inevitable trend towards independence and non-partisanship in city affairs, published in full the reports and proceedings of the committee, and in this way the true condition of municipal and county affairs was brought to the attention of an aroused and indignant public. Oddly enough, several prominent members of political organizations, thinking this movement could be used against their political enemies for this purpose, also joined heart and soul in the movement, and for nearly a year this educational work went on. Early in 1895 the state legislature convened, and naturally city affairs were prominently before it. The Committee of 100 had prepared a charter for the city providing for an economical administration and for the concentration of all executive power and responsibility in the mayor. And this charter was publicly discussed and met with great favor. The then existing political boss very shrewdly estimating the public demand made no open opposition to this charter, but quietly drew up one of his own, incorporating into it all of the economic provisions of the charter of the Committee of 100, but added for the control of the city's business a provision for a board of public works. Of course, making his own selection for the personnel of this board, and so carefully arranging their terms of office that any reforming party would be compelled to elect two reform mayors in succession before the majority of the board could be changed. This scheme failed, but unfortunately took up so much time that no action was obtainable upon the other plan of the Committee of 100, and the city was compelled to content itself with its present charter for two years longer.

This political attempt, though unfortunate, developed the fact that the people were aroused, and for the first time in the city's history its citizens in large meetings discussed and considered the charters proposed for it. As a result of this agitation a distinct and definite advance for the better can be noted in this city's affairs. The old apathy has largely disappeared. Public officials are now being held to account, and although many unworthy officers are still in positions of trust and responsibility, their opportunities for mischief are very much narrowed. Even timid and tentative efforts to reform can be noticed in the police department itself.

It is apparent from this city's experience that all of this municipal extravagance and corruption has grown up under American cultivation and upon American soil from causes inherent within ourselves. No question comes in of "unrestricted emigration" or "universal suffrage." The isolated condition of the city for so many years has absolutely prevented the first and its steady growth, as a cultivated and moral community and the high character of its citizenship, has minimized the evils of the latter.

It seems to me that encouraged and permitted by the public indifference born of continued prosperity, that political partisanship is chargeable with almost the entire mischief.

Four great evil tendencies continually operate to injure a municipality: 1, private greed of contractors, officers, etc.; 2, the demands of the liquor traffic; 3, of the gambling houses; and 4, of the houses of prostitution. It would naturally be the duty of any honest and capable municipal government to be at war with and to suppress and hold in check these evil tendencies, and failing in this the city service might reasonably be expected to degenerate.

Portland, like every other American city, was early captured by political managers. Its strategic value as a point of vantage for conflicts within one's own party and against an opposing party or organization was too manifest to escape the notice of shrewd and capable politicians, and hence they

early took possession of the city and of all of its departments. The investigations of the Committee of 100 have conclusively demonstrated that this first evil tendency of personal greed as opposed to the public welfare, instead of being sternly checked in this city of Portland, has been actually encouraged by its political managers. If a contractor voted his men aright work was given him liberally and the pay was prompt and excessive. Honest performance of the work itself was, however, a matter of little consequence. Miles upon miles of defective sewers and streets bear eloquent witness to the evil effect of political control in business matters. The contractor and the city officer felt that their first duty was to further each other's selfish interests, and contractors and officers cannot well serve two masters.

The liquor traffic banded together fixed its own terms upon party managers. The election of councilmen and the licensing department of the city was largely in their control, and the saloon and the gambling houses paying large tolls to political organizations and to private officials have been given full leave to violate the laws and debauch the community.

In regard to public houses of prostitution gathered together and known in the aggregate in this city as the Whitechapel district, no attempt has been made to check them. To the contrary, the steady growth and promotion of Whitechapel has been manifest for many years, and in the same connection the intense desire of party managers to control the police force was also increasingly manifest. By way of contrast it is worthy of note that the Portland Fire Department is an effective organization, and but little effort has been made by politicians to obtain possession of it. Its management is fairly business-like, and appointments in it are made almost entirely upon considerations of efficiency; and the late agitation has secured in this department great economic reforms without any diminution of efficiency; but in the police department directly opposite tendencies prevail, and it is and has been a terrible expense and disgrace to the city. Instead of being an enemy to the evil tendencies that worked to

the undoing of the city, it seemed far more friendly to some of them than it did to the best interests of the municipality; and the harmony that apparently existed and still exists between many city officials and certain classes of crime is one of the evil signs of the time.

The whole secret of this unfortunate state of affairs lies in the desire for the political control of these other evils, and especially of Whitechapel. Careful investigations by the Committee of 100 showed that the houses of prostitution in Portland controlled, directly or indirectly, about three thousand votes, and one woman testified that a single house had cast nearly one hundred votes for a candidate who had promised it protection in case of his election. The good women of Portland cannot vote, but their fallen sisters apparently have three or four votes each at their disposal and cast them as they will. The police control of this vote was absolute. By enforcing the laws in the statute book Whitechapel could be financially ruined; by indirect encouragement and a discreet laxity it could be made prosperous. Every element of secret and effective control was here in perfection; hence the politician who controlled the police controlled Whitechapel, and thus controlled about three thousand votes, a not inconsiderable political advantage in a city casting only about fifteen thousand ballots; nor was the control of this vote at all expensive; to the contrary, the control of the Whitechapel district was very profitable, and provided comfortable jobs with which to reward party servants of distinguished political efficiency. It was the city's misfortune that this efficiency was not ordinarily accompanied with equal efficiency in the public service.

Realizing fully this evil of political partisanship in municipal affairs, and, as a natural result of the labors of the Committee of 100, a central Municipal League has lately been formed in the city of Portland, and is now being organized, the central principle of which is the absolute divorcement of municipal affairs from state and national politics. Although from the nature of its organization it is necessarily small in numbers and in direct

influence, it is meeting with encouraging success. As it has yet to meet the burden and disintegrating stress of heated political campaigns, its future may be considered unsettled; but, taken altogether, the situation in this struggle for municipal reform in this city is very hopeful. By the attrition of hard times and the efforts of many reforming agencies the gambling houses have been driven out of sight, and even Whitechapel is in mourning and sore financial straits. It is no longer the corrupting political agency it once was. The exposures made by the Committee of 100 have resulted in many reforms, and the whole field is strewn with the fragments of broken rings and ruined bosses. No more fearful engine of political destruction than this Committee ever cleared the way for better things. The political bosses who were once wont in sweet accord to divide the spoils of the city among themselves and their followers, are now (in want of other prey) turning savagely upon each other, and our citizens are now treated to a sight similar to that in times past enjoyed by our early pioneers, when, from a position of vantage up a tree, they watched the wolf packs rend each other.

From the far West we send you greeting. Our city is no worse, is perhaps better, than some of yours, but our cause is a common one, and until our municipalities are honestly and economically managed upon business principles, the war both in the East and in the West should neither falter nor fail.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF SEATTLE.

EDWARD O. GRAVES.

The constitution of the state of Washington provides that any city having a population of twenty thousand inhabitants, or more, may frame its own charter through a commission of fifteen freeholders elected by the voters of the city. Upon the ratification of the charter by a majority of the qualified electors, it becomes the organic law of the city. The charter can be amended only by proposals submitted by the legislative authority of the city to a vote of the people at a general election. The constitution also provides that all charters framed or adopted by its authority shall be subject to and controlled by general laws. The supreme court of the state has decided that, under this provision, the legislature of the state may, by general laws, amend the charter of any city.

Washington was admitted into the union November 11, 1889, and an act was passed by the legislature at its first session prescribing the methods of carrying into effect the provisions of the constitution regarding the charters of the cities having a population of twenty thousand or more, which are denominated cities of the first class. The city of Seattle at once took advantage of the privilege of framing its own charter, accorded by the constitution and laws of the state. A Charter Commission of fifteen freeholders, distinguished citizens, was selected without distinction of party, and elected by a unanimous vote. Three of its members had held commissions as judges of the United States court for the former territory, two had held other judicial positions, four had been mayors of the city, one was a leading banker, one had been a delegate in Congress, and nearly all of them had the public confidence in a remarkable degree.

Unfortunately, at this time, the "boom" was at its height,

and nearly every one of its citizens believed that Seattle was destined within a few years to become a great metropolitan city, with a population of anywhere from one hundred thousand to two hundred and fifty thousand. The demand was general for a charter suited to a great city, and equally general was the belief that a great city needed a complex form of government, with numerous departments and an elaborate system of checks and balances, to secure division of responsibility and prevent centralization of power. The modern tendency, even in the largest cities, towards simplicity of organization and concentration of executive authority was ignored by both the people and the charter framers. The result was the adoption of a charter providing for a cumbrous, costly and irresponsible system of government, for whose radical revision and simplification there is now, after a trial of four and a half years, an almost unanimous demand.

The charter provides for a Common Council, composed of a board of aldermen and a house of delegates, and for thirteen departments of government. As originally framed, it provided that the board of aldermen should consist of nine members, elected at large, and the house of delegates of two members from each ward. An amendment, adopted in 1892, provides that each house shall consist of as many members as there are wards in the city, one member of each house to be elected from each ward. The aldermen hold office for four years. They are divided into two groups of four and five, one group retiring every two years. The term of the delegates is two years, all retiring at the same time. The power of appointing all officers, the manner of whose selection is not expressly provided for in the charter, is lodged with the mayor, subject to confirmation by the board of aldermen. The city treasurer, the city clerk, the fire commissioners, and the corporation counsel are elected by the people. The police commissioners, the members of the board of public works, the city comptroller, and the minor executive officers generally, are appointed by the mayor.

The board of public works consists of three members.

Under the original charter this was simply a supervisory board, the various branches of the city work being under the charge of separate superintendents. As usual in large cities, this department was for a time the chief centre of jobbery and intrigue in the city's affairs. Appointments on the board were sought and used for political ends, and its patronage was used to promote the political fortunes of its own members or their political backers. By a wise amendment to the charter, recently adopted, the three members of the board act as superintendents, respectively, of water works, of streets and sewers and of buildings, bridges and wharves. This system has been found to work well, and since it went into operation the administration of the public works has been efficient and free from scandal.

The police commission consists of five members, with the mayor as chairman. Of the four appointive members, not more than two shall be from the same political party. They are appointed for four years, one retiring each year. The appointments must be arranged so that no two of the same political party shall go out of office in consecutive years. They receive no compensation, and are ineligible to other municipal offices during their incumbency. The chief of police and all subordinate police officers are appointed by the commission without confirmation.

The fire commission also consists of five members, with the mayor as chairman, but its members are elected by the people instead of being appointed by the mayor like the police commissioners. The reason of this difference in the method of their selection is not apparent; it is said to be the result of a compromise between conflicting views in the original charter commission. The commissioners receive no compensation and hold office for four years, two retiring every two years. The chief of the department is appointed by the commission, with the approval of the City Council in joint convention assembled, a unique provision not applying to any other officer. The term of the chief is not fixed by the charter, but a rule of the commission limits it to one year. All of these features, designed ap-

parently to prevent centralization of power, are about as widely at variance with sound ideas of administration as they well could be. The provisions for an elective commission, for the confirmation of the chief by the Common Council and of the subordinate appointments by the commission, and for the limitation of the term of office of the chief, are all well calculated to foment discord and confusion in the administration of this department, and they have not failed of their effect. The fire department has been the theatre of intrigue and contention ever since its organization. Changes and attempted changes in the chiefship by the commissioners, wrangling over the confirmation or rejection of the new nominee in the Common Council, bickering in the commission in its public sessions and the suspension, trial and removal of members of the commission by the mayor have furnished abundant food for scandal, and have made the department offensively conspicuous. At this moment one of the commissioners is on trial before the mayor on charges preferred by the mayor himself. While these performances cannot be said to have seriously impaired the efficiency of the fire service, they undoubtedly have had an unhealthy and disturbing influence on the force. The absurdity of intrusting the management of the police and fire departments, each composed of fewer than seventy-five men, to commissions, with their lack of responsibility and executive capacity, and their demoralizing methods of administration is generally recognized by the people of the city. There is little doubt that at the next election both of these commissions will be abolished. There is also a strong sentiment in favor of the consolidation of the Common Council into a single house, and of centralizing all executive power in the hands of the mayor.

On these points Mr. W. H. Parry, the present accomplished and efficient comptroller of the city, furnishes some interesting information: "While the charter says the mayor is the executive of the city, yet it hedges him about with boards and commissions; and is so vague in its provisions concerning the power of removal that the mayor is seriously hampered in giving the people what he considers a good administration. When Mayor

Ronald came into office, being elected upon the Democratic ticket in a city that had always been Republican, he found the boards and commissions, with the exception of the fire commission, in the hands of the Republican appointees of his predecessor. The preceding administration had been repudiated by the people by an overwhelming vote. Naturally the mayor desired to have men of his own choosing—those whom he knew would be in sympathy with the reforms he proposed to inaugurate—in the boards and commissions which have control of the principal departments. By dint of cajolery and threats he finally succeeded in getting control of the board of police commissioners, two of the members resigning under pressure. The mayor was then in a position to have a chief of police in whom he had confidence. Notwithstanding the fact that the charter makes the mayor the head of the police department, during Mayor Ronald's administration there were numerous plots to remove the chief of his choosing, and the chief was once actually removed when the mayor was out of the city; but the mayor returning six hours after reinstated his chief. All this undoubtedly had a damaging effect upon the discipline of the department. The commissioners were held in line only by granting them the right to name the subordinate officers and patrolmen; and appointments and promotions, as a result, went by favor rather than by merit. The members of the police commission are appointed by the mayor and no more than two can be of the same political faith. This is supposed to put the police department upon a non-partisan basis, but it has not done so.

"Mayor Ronald was succeeded (in 1894) by Mayor Phelps, a Republican, who was elected by about five thousand plurality, making a change of eight thousand votes over two years before. The Democratic administration had not been able to keep its pledges of reform and the people wanted a change. Mayor Phelps naturally wanted to name a chief of police in whom he had confidence. He was met by a board of police commissioners, every member of which had been appointed under the preceding administration. He succeeded, however, in securing

the appointment of his chief; but the old plotting continued and a plan was devised by three members of the commission to remove the chief against the wishes of the mayor. This came to the knowledge of the mayor, who believed the cause for this move to be the fact that one of the commissioners was interested in property, which under previous administrations had been used for immoral purposes, but from which the immoral tenants had been driven by the new chief under the direction of the mayor. Mayor Phelps, being convinced of this fact from conversations with the police commissioner himself, summarily removed him. The commissioner appealed to the courts, which held that the mayor had no right to remove him without giving him a hearing. The mayor thereupon held a trial of the commissioner, at which he was the complainant, the judge and the jury. He again removed the commissioner. The legality of this removal is now being tested in the supreme court, but the mayor has an appointee of his own in the place of the deposed commissioner. The chief now has the right to recommend his subordinate from a list of applicants approved by the commission, and thus one evil of the department—appointments by favor—is remedied, temporarily at least.

“While the charter makes the police commission appointive and non-partisan, the fire commission, for some inscrutable reason, is made elective and therefore partisan. When Mayor Ronald came into power his fire commission made him, very much against his will, take the position of changing the chief of the fire department by removing the Republican chief and putting in a Democrat. One Republican hold-over in the commission made a relentless war against the new chief. When Mr. Phelps became mayor the commission was evenly divided, two of the Democrats holding over. The Republican members made war on the Democratic chief and tried to force the mayor to appoint a Republican, the chief who had been deposed in the previous administration to make room for the Democrats. The mayor was satisfied with the chief, however, and refused to make a change for purely political reasons. This produced a very

bitter fight in the commission, which lasted over a year. The Democratic chief finally resigned, and the Republican mayor joined the two Democratic members of the commission and elected the senior captain of the department to fill the vacancy. The Council has the confirmation of the chief of the fire department, and, owing to a political fight in the commission and the fact that the general election campaign was on, rejected the nomination. Several other nominations were rejected by the Council, and then the senior captain was again nominated, and the Council this time confirmed him, the general election by this time having been held and party spirit, therefore, not being so strong. The two Republican members were bitterly opposed to him, however, and refused to confirm any of the appointments made by him for subordinate officers. The chief desired an assistant of his own choosing, which under the charter he is entitled to, and this angered one of the Democratic members of the commission, who was a friend of the assistant chief, who would be deposed by the change, and he joined with the two Republican members to turn out the chief. The mayor met this by suspending this fire commissioner, preferring charges against him. This matter is now in abeyance, but the chief and members of the department are in constant dread of the other faction getting hold of the department and turning them all out to put in their own friends, and the discipline of the department is accordingly destroyed. The mayor declares that he will not submit to changes in the department except for cause, and that he will resist to the last any attempt to make the department a political machine.

"When Mayor Ronald took office in 1892 he found the board of public works to have a Republican majority. One of the Republican members was a banker of high standing, and the other was a large property owner and a man of excellent reputation; but they were a part of the preceding repudiated administration, and he wanted this important board, concerning which one of the framers of the charter had said: 'Let me have the appointment of the board of public works, and I will dictate the political

control of the city,' in harmony with his own views. He asked them to resign, but they said they had been appointed for definite terms which had not expired, and would not resign. The mayor was then placed in the disagreeable position of being obliged to keep two men whom he did not want, and who were not friendly to his administration, in the most important board in the city, or removing them. He took the latter alternative, but had to resort to the subterfuge of a trial in which he was complainant, chief witness, judge and jury. He found one member guilty and acquitted the other, and in this way gained control of the board. When it came to making appointments he found he was not his own master, and was forced to appoint a member of the board of aldermen, that body having the confirming power and holding the lash over him. The new board had charge of very important public works which it conducted in such a manner that the mayor finally removed the two Democratic members for cause, after another long trial, in which he was the real complainant (although this time he procured another signature to the charges), as well as judge and jury. Then the aldermen who were in sympathy with the deposed commissioners, refused to confirm the mayor's appointees, and when the administration went out of power the board was filled up with acting members serving under appointment of the mayor without confirmation. Mayor Phelps appointed one of the men whose nomination had been rejected by the aldermen under the previous administration, and he was confirmed; but upon filling the short term for which he was appointed the aldermen again refused to confirm him, the majority of the aldermen being hold-overs from the former administration. The aldermen again tried to bring the mayor to appoint a man of their choosing, but he refused to do this, and sent nominations of his own choice to them until they finally confirmed one. These are a few of the more notable instances wherein the mayor has been hampered in giving the administration he thinks best for the city. But the people charge him with responsibility, and make but small allowances for the manner in which he is hedged about by the charter."

Nothing could show more strikingly than these unvarnished statements the evil effects of pretty nearly all the vicious features of municipal administration of which reformers are trying to get rid. Here we have examples of them all—government by commissions, both appointive and elective, partisan and bi-partisan, confirmation by the Common Council and by the board of aldermen, tying of the mayor's hands at every turn—and all of them have borne their natural fruit of inefficiency, dissension and political jobbery.

Seattle suffered from a disastrous fire in 1889 which destroyed the entire business portion of the city. This necessitated an enormous outlay on the part of the city. All of its roadways in the lower portion of the city had been destroyed; its engine-houses and public buildings were gone, wharves were immediately required for commerce and for bringing in building materials, and the people demanded better fire protection and police service. The unexampled prosperity of the city during this period also forced the City Council to make many improvements, which, at other times, would not have been demanded. It was deemed advisable immediately after the fire to widen and straighten the principal streets of the city, and this involved an expenditure of more than \$220,000 for condemnation awards.

In spite of the glaring absurdity of some of the provisions of the charter and of the scandal and confusion they have caused, it may be said in conclusion that the municipal condition of the city is good. The present administration is economical, honest and efficient. The mayor is a man of high character, and the members of the Council, as a rule, are men of excellent standing in the community. The moral tone of the city is good; the lower element is not in control of any department of the government, nor is its influence shown in the administration of the city's affairs. Despite the demoralizing influence of the commissions controlling them, the police and fire department furnish efficient service. The debt is not excessive; the interest is promptly met. Expenses are paid from current revenues.

The water supply is excellent and abundant, and the sewer system good, though far from complete. When the improvements universally demanded in the charter have been brought about, it is believed that the municipal condition of Seattle will bear comparison with that of any city in the union.

MUNICIPAL CONDITION OF SAN FRANCISCO.

ISAAC J. MILLIKEN,VICE-PRESIDENT, CITIZENS' NON-PARTISAN PARTY.

By an act of the legislature of California, approved April 19, 1856, the city and a portion of what was previously the county, were consolidated into the city and county of San Francisco—the present corporation. This consolidation act, almost hidden by multitudinous supplements and amendments, is still the fundamental municipal law for San Francisco. Several charters have since been drawn and submitted, to be successively defeated at the polls. Another has been prepared during the last few months, embodying some of the innovations which are being tested in several Eastern cities, prominent amongst which is fixing responsibility of bureau officials elsewhere than on political conventions and political bosses. This charter will be presented to the voters of San Francisco at the general election in November, 1896. By a coincidence, the adoption of the consolidation act in 1856 was cotemporaneous with the final acts of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco. The historical doings of this Committee, and the spirit which created it, left more than a transient mark. For years thereafter San Francisco, whatever may be said of its morals in general, was undoubtedly the most honest of any American seaboard city. During twenty years following the Citizens' and People's parties controlled, almost without interruption, the municipal affairs of San Francisco. Since the consolidation our population has repeatedly doubled, but the ranks of the men who stood shoulder to shoulder in '56 have been sadly thinned.

The landed territory of the city and county is the head of a peninsula, and is about six and one-half miles by six and one-quarter miles in extent. The water jurisdiction is about as large

as the land, including several islands in the Bay of San Francisco and in the Pacific Ocean, occupied, however, only by the military and employees of the United States. This territory is divided into twelve wards. We have twelve supervisors, selected from the several wards, but elected by the voters of the city at large. They receive a salary of \$100 per month each, and, with the mayor as presiding officer, with power of veto, constitute our legislative body. For many years, however, the city land agent of the Southern Pacific Company has been dubbed the "thirteenth member of the board," and it must be admitted that he has been very faithfully on hand. Twelve school directors are selected from the city at large, and elected in the same manner. They receive no salaries.

The officials of San Francisco are all elective, excepting police commissioners, fire commissioners and the registrar of voters, appointed by the governor of the state, and officers of the local health department, license collector, prosecuting attorneys of the police courts and certain inspectors, appointed by commissions made up of the board of supervisors and heads of certain city departments.

As our city railroad system has passed almost exclusively under the control of the same parties who control the Southern Pacific Company, the advantage to the consolidation of having a "thirteenth member" in the city's legislative body is possibly illustrated by the city's returns from percentages. The best check we have upon expenditures is the "one-twelfth act," which limits the expenditures in any one month to one-twelfth of the appropriation for the year from any fund, and but for this, with our constantly changing distributors, the city would sometimes have been financially stranded in the middle of a fiscal year.

At this writing we are brought face to face with the city's contractors, who refuse to furnish supplies for almshouse, hospitals, jails, fire department, etc., because they can see no way in which the treasurer can pay their demands for May and June, the last two months of the fiscal year. Their action can hardly

be considered singular in view of the fact that most of the "outstanding demands" above referred to are for supplies furnished in the last two years, and for which the contractors have not yet been paid, and in view of the further fact that our state supreme court has held that a tax levy cannot be made in any one year to pay bills for any past year. In attempting to fix the responsibility for this unpleasant situation the first difficulty is that the fiscal year commenced the 1st of last July, and the present administration took possession six months thereafter, which is the case, of course, once in each two years. If the already published statements of this condition give the impression that our taxpayers are niggardly in treating their charges, a comparison with other cities should show what \$6,000,000 per year ought to do for three hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, our population in 1895.

The opinion is quite general that the city should own water and gas works, the former particularly; but results, where the managing officials are changed after each election, leave the question two-sided. When we do it we must have a board of public works, and will have to decide how it shall be constituted and how guarded. The income of Spring Valley Water Works last year, as given by the company, was \$1,678,000. The company's estimate of operating expenses (aside from construction account) for the coming year is \$392,300. Given the construction account, it would be easy to add interest on bonds and determine the gain to the rate-payers this year if the city were in the company's place. The company estimates the total outlay by stockholders from the inception, outside bonded indebtedness (\$9,975,000), at \$27,500,000, much of which plainly must have been for reconstruction. In 1876-7 the city offered \$11,000,000 for the plant, which was declined. Since then the company claims to have expended on construction account \$10,820,000.

Our term for elective offices is two years, excepting assessor, four years. By the schedule of salaries, established in 1861, no heads of bureau departments receive more than \$4000 per an-

num; the sheriff \$8000; the mayor \$3000. As the charter just drafted only proposes to reduce the salaries of the sheriff to \$6000 and the recorder to \$3600, and to raise that of the mayor to \$6000, the presumption is we are not paying too much for good service.

Foremost of local reform movements in length of service is the Citizens' Defense Association. An organization of liberal, public-spirited citizens, who have devoted time and money for the general good, and who have accomplished much in a quiet way. They have maintained an examining expert to hunt leaks, and have kept a watchful eye upon state legislation. Prominent amongst legislative enactments secured by them is the "purity of election" law, which first became operative last fall, one requirement of which is, that all candidates, elected or defeated, must file sworn statements of their election expenses, and limiting the amount which may be so used.

The Citizens' Non-partisan Party, of San Francisco, was organized in 1892, and took an active part in the elections of '92 and '94. While the results as manifested at the polls were not in accord with the hopes and expectations of its organizers, it is serving an educational purpose and showing our people that managing municipal business is not necessarily connected either with national or machine politics. Its influence has also been made apparent in many other ways. A Good Government Club has been formed, composed mostly of earnest young men, who will make themselves felt hereafter. The Civic Federation, organized since the campaign, embraces the Good Government Club, the Law and Order League, the Union for Practical Progress, the Federated Trades and various organizations for moral advancement.

Another effect has been the passage, by the recent session of the legislature, of several bills in the interest of pure elections. For several years this city had a ridiculous combination in a board of election commissioners, consisting of the mayor, the auditor, the tax collector, the city and county attorney and the surveyor, all of whom were usually candidates for re-elec-

tion. Their duties have naturally been intermixed with those of the registrar—an appointee of the governor. It usually happened that four-fifths of the commission were of one party; one-fifth of another and the registrar with the minority. The result has been that where an atmosphere of strict purity should prevail we have had a veritable bear garden for two months of each election year. This has been changed by the bill providing for the appointment of a commission by the mayor; not more than two to be of any one party.

Another result is a legislative act, approved March 27, 1895, providing for primary elections, which had become so farcical as to be shunned by the better class of voters in both the old parties.

There is much to be said in praise of San Francisco, though it is not in all respects an ideal city. Its a long time since the Vigilance Committee; but there is no city in the union with a quarter of a million people (excepting Cleveland, perhaps,) which would not be the better for a little judicious hanging. The difficulties to be met here are in general similar to those of other cosmopolitan cities. New York furnishes lodgers and voters for Long Island, Staten Island and the choice residence parts of New Jersey. San Francisco does the same for Alameda, Marin and San Mateo Counties. But recent developments show that when the best elements of New York are united for municipal reform they can control. In common with our sister cities, we must reach a condition under which citizens may accept, and even aspire, to public office and not debase themselves by venal pledges and agreements in advance. Public and semi-public corporations must learn, and are beginning to realize, that bribery, subsidy and deceit cost more in the long run than will frank dealing with their patrons. In bringing about all these needed improvements the National Municipal League cannot fail to prove a leading factor.

UNIFORM ORGANIZATION FOR CITIES IN OHIO.

HON. E. J. BLANDIN,
PRESIDENT, CIVIC FEDERATION, CLEVELAND.

The constitution of Ohio has three provisions only which bear upon the question of the organization of cities and villages, as follows: *First*.—The legislature shall provide for the organization of cities and villages, by general laws. *Second*.—All laws of a general nature shall have uniform operation throughout the state. *Third*.—The legislature shall pass no special act conferring corporate power.

Doubtless the framers of these constitutional provisions supposed they had, by adopting these provisions, destroyed forever the vice of special legislation for cities in Ohio. Judge Scott, in 15 Ohio State Reports, 573, speaking for the supreme court, of that clause of the constitution requiring laws of a general nature to have uniform operation throughout the state, says: "Under the former constitution, laws having a general subject matter, and, therefore, 'of a general nature,' were frequently limited expressly, in their operation, to one or more counties, to the exclusion of other portions of the state. As a consequence, on the same subject, there might be one law for Hamilton County, another for Franklin, and still a third for Ash-tabula. This naturally led to improvident legislation, enacted by the votes of legislators who were indifferent in the premises, because their own immediate constituents were not to be affected by it. To arrest, and for the future prevent this evil, this provision was inserted in the present constitution."

If it was important to secure by this constitutional provision the vigilance and care of every member of the general assembly to every law affecting counties, it was equally impor-

tant to secure that same vigilance and care when laws were passed affecting the cities in those counties; and hence it was provided in the constitution that laws for the organization of cities and villages should be of that general nature, which the other clause required, to be of uniform operation throughout the state; and it was an evil day for Ohio, when the supreme court permitted the door to be opened to special legislation for cities under the transparent gauze of "classification of cities."

To exhibit the absurd lengths to which this vice of classification has been carried under this unfortunate attitude of the supreme court of the state, I cannot do better than quote a few words from an address by Judge A. C. Voris, of Akron, recently delivered before a committee of the Ohio State Board of Commerce.

He said: "Here is the way the last general assembly classified municipal corporations for the state, and, by the way, it is the second act of the same legislature for the same purpose. By act of March 13, 1894, amending the act of February 6, a law just five weeks old, 'Municipal corporations are divided into cities, villages and hamlets; cities are divided into two classes—first and second; cities of the first class are divided into three grades—first, second and third; cities of the second class are divided into seven grades—first, second, third, third grade (*a*), third grade (*b*), fourth and fourth grade (*a*); and cities of the second class, which thereafter become cities of the first class, shall constitute the fourth grade of the latter class; and villages which thereafter become cities shall belong to the fourth grade of the second class.

"This division is based upon the following numerical basis of inhabitants: First class, first grade, two hundred thousand and upwards; first class, second grade, more than ninety thousand and less than two hundred thousand; first class, third grade, more than thirty-one thousand five hundred and less than ninety thousand; first class, fourth grade, cities advanced from second class thereafter; second class, first grade, over thirty thousand five hundred and less than thirty-one thousand five hundred; second class, second grade, over twenty thousand and less than

thirty thousand five hundred; second class, third grade, over ten thousand and less than twenty thousand; second class, third grade (*a*), over twenty-eight thousand and less than thirty-three thousand; second class, third grade (*b*), over sixteen thousand and less than eighteen thousand; second class, fourth grade, over five thousand and less than ten thousand; second class, fourth grade (*a*), over eight thousand three hundred and thirty and less than nine thousand five hundred; villages: first class, over three thousand and less than five thousand; villages: second class, over two hundred and less than three thousand.

"An analysis of this classification will show that second class, third grade (*a*), for all such cities having thirty-one thousand five hundred inhabitants, and upwards to thirty-three thousand, are embraced in first-class cities of the third grade, and all such cities having more than twenty-eight thousand and less than thirty thousand five hundred, are embraced in second-class cities of the second grade; and second-class cities of the third grade (*b*) come wholly within cities of the second class, third grade; and all second-class cities of the fourth grade (*a*) come wholly within the fourth grade of second-class cities. The grades designated by the letters *a* and *b* constitute insensible grades, because by general law no city advances to a higher grade by force of the statute until the city shall have first secured the consent of its voters, given at an election had for that purpose. So that a reasonable classification, based upon similar conditions, can readily be accommodated to the wishes of the inhabitants, who may remain at will, or advance in grade as they may see fit, having the requisite population. The city of Akron might be a city of the first class, third grade, if its inhabitants wanted it, instead of being a city of the second class, third grade, as it now is, and at the election of its inhabitants. I said Akron was recognized as a second-class city of the third grade; it is so nominally, but it has so many other hybrid grades applicable to it by special enactments, under the guise of general laws, that no man knows what laws are applicable to it. You may think this an extravagant statement, but for years our mayors, city solicitors, Common Councils, and other officers, have radically disagreed as to its

legal status, as caprice and partisan interest dictated, and acted officially accordingly."

The usual way of enacting forbidden special laws by this specious method of classification is illustrated by the following: "That in cities of the second class, third grade, which at the Federal census of 1890 had, or at any subsequent Federal census shall have a population of not less than twenty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety, nor more than twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty, the office," etc., an attempted classification based on a difference of only thirty inhabitants, a condition not likely ever to arise for any other city, and if it did arise, furnishing no reason whatever why an office therein should be either created or abolished, or that the officer should be chosen for any different term or clothed with any other different functions or powers.

To everybody, except the honorable judges of the supreme court, this is a plain evasion of the constitution, and to everybody except the partisan politicians, who make use of the opportunity it affords to jockey away a market inspector in Cleveland, for a street commissioner in Cincinnati, and another plum in Toledo, for still another in Columbus, by using the general assembly to authorize the deal, it is as humorously absurd as it is deeply to be regretted by all honest people.

In this long list of classes and grades of cities, thus sanctioned by the supreme court in an evil hour, there are as many different forms of organization as there are grades and classes. No two are alike, and no one of them all is likely to remain as it is through the next session of the legislature. With each recurring election partisan interests will see a way by which some official can be displaced by a special act, and another appointed by some local or state authority friendly to the aspirant for the place thus made vacant. This is done repeatedly without the knowledge of the people of the city affected, and without the knowledge or care of any member of the general assembly except those locally concerned, and all in compliance with a constitutional provision which requires the act to be

uniform throughout the state. If this evil is not forbidden by the constitutional provision above recited, it would be impossible to use apt words in a constitution to accomplish what Judge Scott says was designed to be accomplished by them.

There never was a reason for any classification of cities in Ohio for the purpose of city organization, and population or number of inhabitants was the most absurd basis that could well have been invented for classification, had any been needed. Had some tyro in the matter of governmental philosophy made the mistake of supposing a different organization might be required in seaboard and inland cities, or in manufacturing and commercial cities, we might have excused his blunder; but when it was supposed that city organization should be one thing for a city of thirty thousand five hundred inhabitants, and a different thing for one of thirty-one thousand five hundred, our pity rises at once into contempt. But when the organization is made to change when the number of inhabitants increased from twenty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety to twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and twenty, and is made to change back again if the thirty people should die or move away, we wonder if so little statesmanship was possible to our aboriginal predecessors.

I have said that no classification was ever necessary for the correct and convenient organization of cities. The constitution itself makes a classification of cities and villages, and then provides that the general assembly shall provide for their organization by general laws, which are required to be uniform throughout the state. The plainest principles of legal interpretation applied to these provisions forbid any classification of cities, so that any classification becomes at once both illegal and inexpedient. I know that substantially the bar and bench of the state concur in this view, and that, but for past precedents, the supreme court would be ready to at once retrace its footsteps, and to declare that classification cannot be upheld under the constitution. That court said, in the case of *State vs. Wall*, 47 Ohio State Reports, page 500: "Grave doubts may well be entertained as to the constitutionality of this method of

classifying cities for the purpose of general legislation. But it has received the sanction of this court in repeated decisions heretofore made, and in view of this fact, and the rule that forbids a court to declare a law enacted by the legislature as unconstitutional unless clearly convinced that it is so, we do not feel warranted in doing so in this instance."

And again it is said, in the case of *State vs. Smith*, in 48 Ohio State Reports, page 218: "It must be conceded that the method of classifying cities for the purpose of legislation, has been carried to the very verge of constitutional authority. Many conscientious minds believe that it has been exceeded. We have heretofore expressed our doubts upon the subject, but feel bound by the previous decisions of the court, and are disposed to sustain any laws falling within the principle of those decisions; but are unwilling to go beyond them and sanction legislation conferring corporate power that is plainly and palpably special in character."

To enable the court to take this stand it may first be necessary for the legislature to enact a general law for the organization of all cities in the state, when the court will undoubtedly then be ready to hold that any future classification of cities as a means of securing special laws under the pretext of making them generally applicable to a "class," when the class is but one city, and always will be, is an attempt to do indirectly what is forbidden to be done directly, and is, therefore, unconstitutional and void. It should be borne in mind that the business committed by the constitution to the legislature is to "provide for the organization of cities;" not to govern them. Our legislature for years has been spending three-fourths of its time, and incurring an equal proportion of expense, in passing municipal ordinances for the various cities in the state, in no one of which ordinances have any of the legislators the slightest interest except those locally concerned in each special case. No wonder the personnel of that body is becoming reduced to the general level of a borough council.

I see no reason why one general law for the organization

of our cities, if rightly framed, need be in any respect altered or changed during the next quarter of a century.

In devising this general law the first thing demanding to be understood is the functions to be exercised by a city organization. All our property and personal rights are secured and enforced by state laws. To the cities is committed the business of making, cleaning, draining and lighting local highways and public grounds, including harbors and wharves in some; caring for the public health by preventing and abating nuisances, furnishing a supply of water, maintaining machines and appliances to extinguish fires and guarding people and property from depredations by burglars and thieves. These are subordinate governmental functions, the administration of which comes to be largely matters of common business, and they are substantially the important matters to be managed by the city organization. In determining, therefore, what the city organization should be, the question to be answered is, how can this business best be transacted and by what kind of organization? All these things, and others, less important, are to be done at the public cost, for which a tax must be levied, and proper accounts must be kept of disbursements, so as to guard the public funds from waste and fraud. Without taking time to elaborate the argument, all competent governmental architects since the time of Hamilton, Madison and Jefferson have agreed that there must be a total separation of legislative from executive powers. One body, a legislative, must decide what is to be done and levy the tax therefor. Another totally separate authority, the executive, must carry the legislative will into effect, and must be totally distinct from the legislative body, so as to afford the proper checks by each upon the other. This executive must be a single person, because no effective executive action can by possibility be committed to an aggregate body, or to more than a single person.

Here, then, you have the fundamental germ of a city organization. No matter how large or small the state this general principle is alike adapted. It serves equally for Delaware, New

York or the United States. It is equally adapted to the smallest or largest city in the United States.

The executive powers in administration for convenience may be divided into departments, and a chief in charge of each, subordinate to the general chief executive or mayor, as the business of the United States is divided and committed to cabinet officers at the head of each department.

Plainly, then, a general law for all cities can be easily framed, giving all legislative powers to a Council to be chosen by the people, and giving all executive powers to a mayor, also chosen by the people. This organization will in no sense depend upon, or need to be shifted or changed according to population or topography or the industries pursued, and there can be no intelligent reason given why the organization may not be uniform in all cities throughout the state as the constitution requires, and there will be no occasion for a change in it until original first principles themselves change.

A general law might limit the power of taxation and contracting debts, or this limit might, by special law, be changed in any particular city without in any way affecting the organization of any city. A general law might authorize all cities to construct and maintain water works, and leave it optional with each particular city to exercise the power or not, or whenever its Council should determine, merely providing the general form of organization for its management when constructed. The same might be done for cemeteries, work-house, infirmary, fire department, or, in fact, any other, equally well without any change in the organization of any city, and equally without any special act of the legislature on the subject.

In this way the legislative and executive powers would be kept perpetually separate, as they should be, and any or all improvements would be open to each city when its Council ordered them, and the executive work resulting would be committed to the chief executive, with the assistants provided for departments as they are added, and correct principles of government would

be all the time in force, and no special legislation at any time required.

The same general plan of organization should be adopted for all villages, and villages should become cities, not by mere change or increase of population, but by the addition of departments and consequent change and increase of business to be done by public authority for and on behalf of the people concerned. Such basis for change from village organization to city organization would have some intelligent reason for the change, while any other basis seems to want such intelligent reason. County governments would have the same general principle of organization, that of totally separating legislative and executive powers, committing the former to a small body of commissioners and the latter to a single person, thus establishing and preserving the check upon each other, without which public business cannot be efficiently and honestly carried forward. The school systems of the state should also be organized upon the same general line, as they already are in Cleveland, to the satisfaction of our people and to the delight and envy of the most prominent educators throughout the United States. With our cities, villages, counties and schools so organized in Ohio, we would have local government upon fundamental principles recognized by the fathers as indispensable, and such as are always applied in the conduct of large railroad, telegraph, express and manufacturing companies. They would be simple, compact and easily understood by all, and all governmental affairs, national, state and local, would be harmonious and homogeneous. Then special local legislation would be at an end, and three-fourths of the business and expense of the general assembly would be avoided, we would have home rule upon a sound and intelligent basis, direct responsibility of public officials to the people whom they serve, with proper checks upon the levy and expenditure of taxes, and a system which would readily admit of correct accounts of all municipal, county and school affairs, furnishing, by their uniformity, opportunity for making comparisons of costs and results in various cities as a basis for the intelligent study of local affairs

with a view to further amendment of methods in the public interest.

Throughout the state a deep and earnest attention is being given to this particular subject, and the State Board of Commerce is moving with energy in this direction, and I feel that it is not presumptuous to congratulate the people that they are soon to be blest with a uniform organization in cities in Ohio.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT BY NATIONAL PARTIES.

CHARLES RICHARDSON,

VICE-PRESIDENT, PHILADELPHIA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

A municipal government combines within itself two entirely different functions. One is that of preventing and punishing crime. The other is that of a co-operative business association, in which each resident is necessarily a partner. For the proper discharge of these functions great powers and immense revenues must be entrusted to the officials who compose the government, for the people of a large city can never be a self-governing community. They must always be ruled by officials, and the selection of these officials is a much more important matter than any system of laws or provisions of a municipal charter. If they are wisely chosen the government will be good. If they are corrupt or incompetent the government will be bad. If they are faithful and intelligent bad laws can be changed for better. If they are depraved and unscrupulous the laws intended to restrain them will be repealed or evaded.

It is therefore exceedingly unfortunate that a very large proportion of our office-seekers are unfit or unworthy to fill the places they contend for.

Men of character and ability are repelled by the conditions imposed or the services expected by those who control the nominations. Men who lead or belong to the vicious or predatory classes are eager and persistent in their efforts to secure the positions which enable them to increase their power, or to defraud and oppress the people by such methods as those which have been so thoroughly exposed by the Lexow Committee in New York. If the voters were wiser in their treatment of candidates they would be more frequently guided by

the advice of the lady who was so anxious to improve her social position that she said to her daughter: "My dear, you must always avoid speaking to the people who want to speak to you. The people whom we want to know are those who don't want to know us." Nearly one-third of the population and most of the wealth of the United States are to be found in our cities. Their revenues are already several times as great per capita as those of the National Government, and where the treasures of the people are, there will the spoilsmen be gathered together. But the voter who would think it imbecile to trust a stranger with his purse, or to leave his door unbolted and his latch key hanging out at night, is content to slumber at his ease without a thought or an effort to protect his municipal assets from being fought over or captured by any band of thieves who may happen to want them. Still, although the average citizen appears to be without any very adequate ideas of either the nature and importance of good city government, or the proper means of securing it, we may assume that a large majority of the voters are really in favor of it. If this was not the case there would be little use in attempting any kind of reform work except that of a purely educational character.

If it is the case it is obvious that in order to make the wishes of the majority effective we must have a system which will enable them to unite for the nomination and election of good municipal candidates. It is equally clear that bad government will be the inevitable result of any system which divides the well-meaning majority into opposing columns and confines them to a choice between different sets of bad candidates. Some of our prominent politicians are rather fond of telling us that when bad men obtain offices the people have no right to blame any one but themselves. If this was correct it would be logical to conclude that a train robber is also an innocent party, and that the only persons who ought to be blamed for his crimes are the passengers who fail to shoot him. But, although the contributory negligence and lack of intelligent action on the part of the voters can never justify the raids of political highwaymen, they

do show that the only reliable basis for reform is to be found in the moral and mental development of the people, and in striving to promote that development we should remember that in every contest between those who wish to enlighten and those who wish to delude the voters, the success of either side must largely depend upon the methods adopted for increasing the numbers and uniting the efforts of friends or for reducing the forces and dividing the energies of opponents.

The professional politicians are past masters in the science of tactics, and have given us many proofs of the truth that in the irrepressible conflict which is now being waged between the reformers and the spoilsmen of American cities, the old maxim of "Divide and Conquer" is still as applicable as when it guided the genius of Cæsar, or led Napoleon from victory to victory.

The method usually adopted by the people for the selection of city officials is to allow all the nominations to be made by the political machinery of the national parties, and then either to elect the nominees of the most popular party without reference to their fitness, or in rare cases, to make a more or less intelligent choice between the competing candidates. The object of this paper is to present a few of the arguments which tend to show, first, that this method is bad for the city, bad for the nation and bad for the national parties; and second, that a much better method can be and ought to be substituted for it. It is not proposed at this time to enlarge upon the familiar defects and abuses in the nominating machinery of our national parties. These difficulties and the various remedies suggested for them, have been very frequently and thoroughly debated. But no satisfactory conclusion has ever been reached, and it is very generally believed that, with rare exceptions, it is practically impossible to prevent the primaries and nominating conventions from being controlled by the trained and disciplined armies of spoilsmen who make such work the business of their lives, depend upon it for their means of support, and are prepared to resort to bribery, intimidation or fraud when their objects cannot be otherwise accomplished.

But even if the machinery of the leading parties could be so purified and improved, and their voters so educated and stimulated that their nominations would be really representative, it would still be true that a national party is as unfit an instrument for the government of a city as an axe is for digging ground or a spade for cutting down trees. The real issue in municipal elections relates solely to the management of municipal business, and the custom of allowing such contests to be decided by combats between national parties is just as irrelevant and absurd as the medieval plan of having a battle between two mail-clad knights in order to decide which of their lady loves was the most beautiful.

It would be as reasonable to demand that all our city officials shall be Episcopalians or Methodists as to insist that they shall be Republicans or Democrats.

If we examine the effects produced by the system which subjects municipal contests to the control of national parties we shall see, first, that it necessarily divides the friends of good city government into hostile armies, which waste their strength upon each other instead of uniting against their common enemies; and second, that it enables the spoilsmen of both parties to co-operate in controlling all the nominations, and then by appeals to that party spirit against which the prophetic wisdom of Washington warned us, and by threats of national disaster, they prevent the people from correcting this evil by the independent nomination and support of better candidates. As these are precisely the conditions which make possible the continuance of corrupt municipal government, it would seem as no intelligent person could fail to understand why the system which produces them is so unanimously and vigorously upheld by the spoilsmen of all parties, as the one indispensable and only possible method for the management of municipal affairs. As the silversmiths of old defended the worship of Diana of the Ephesians, so do our modern politicians defend the equally useless and superstitious sacrifice of municipal interests at the shrines of national parties. And for this they can give the same reason

that Demetrius gave when he said: "Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth."

Another reason for urging upon every citizen the importance of joining and supporting some form of local and permanent organization, which will tend to exclude and to take the place of national parties in city affairs, is to be found in the fact that their participation in municipal contests makes it impossible to ascertain the wishes of the people in relation to their local interests. The voters may be compared to a man who can only pronounce the two words yes and no, and only one of them at each election. Now, if we ask such a man whether he is a Republican he can say yes. If we ask him whether A. B. may have his pocketbook he can say no. But if we do as the politicians do, and ask him whether he is a Republican and wants A. B. to have his pocketbook, what is he to say?

If he says no he may be suspected of being a Democrat, or he may even be the means of electing a Democratic congressman. If he says yes, away goes his pocketbook. It may be creditable to the patriotic hearts, but is certainly discreditable to the unthinking heads of American voters, that under these circumstances, they generally conclude to assert their national preferences, and allow their municipal pocketbooks to be appropriated by their ingenious questioners, who, like the Sphinx, devour the substance of those who attempt to solve their enigmas. As Richelieu said of the conspirators, "Their schemes are glass, the very sun shines through them." If the development of the human mind is not to be permanently arrested, if paralysis of political intelligence is not incurable, we may surely look forward to the time when a serious proposal to conduct a municipal campaign upon a national platform, with nothing municipal in it, can only be regarded as a vagary of lunatics or an artifice of knaves.

If we now proceed to consider the broader field of national interests, we shall find that our cities are by no means the only or even the greatest sufferers from our present system. The

evils which it inflicts upon our national parties, and through them upon the nation itself, are even more deplorable.

It is the evil and not the good in a municipal government which attracts the most attention, and has the most effect upon the national standing of the party responsible for it; and on the other hand, while the unpopularity of a national party endangers its municipal control, its successes encourage its leaders to select inferior candidates for city offices.

In the nation, as in the city, the great obstacles to good government are the spoils and the spoilsmen. By adopting a system which tends to combine all the national, state and municipal spoils in one vast and dazzling prize, which might be grasped by a single party, we have added immensely to their dangerous fascinations. By uniting the spoilsmen of all sections in one great army we enable them to double their inducements, multiply their numbers, and increase their powers and resources so that they can seize upon every important position, garrison every office, and guard every avenue to public service or popular recognition. The powers and patronage of city, state and nation are all combined together and used to crush opposition, reward subservience and promote corruption in each. These conditions would all be changed by the complete divorce of national from municipal politics. There could be no more effective blow to the spoils system than such a separation. It would be like severing the coils of an anaconda in the act of crushing its prey.

No one who is familiar with city politicians and ward workers can suspect them of being actuated as a class by a genuine devotion to great principles. Many of them are bright, genial, obliging and faithful to their friends. Some have a sincere desire to promote public interests. But there are few, if any, whose moral perceptions are not blinded by their anxiety for personal and partisan success, and by their belief that that success can only be achieved by the aid of those whose assistance must be purchased with public offices, illegal protection, or opportunities for public plunder.

The leadership of such men and the influence of their

mercenaries, instead of being a necessity or a source of strength, is only a cause of weakness in the parties which tolerate them; and the success of such a party is apt to depend less upon its own merits than upon a popular belief that its opponent is even worse than itself. Some of the most unfortunate results of such a domination are a management full of uncertainty and local inconsistencies, and a tendency to forfeit the confidence and respect of friend and foes, by bowing trembling knees to popular fallacies, and basely abandoning party principles and the honor and welfare of the whole country, in the hope of obtaining a few additional votes.

We might as well look for a high standard of efficiency in an army officered and commanded by its sutlers and camp followers, as to expect it in a party subservient to the most sordid and venal of its elements. It is therefore essential for the prosperity of our national parties that they should be forced to abandon the municipal functions, which have been at once the chief attraction and the main support of their present masters. The probable success of this remedy in reducing the activity and weakening the powers of these lords of misrule, may be judged from their plea that it would be impossible for them to keep a party together or to command the efforts and obedience of their followers, if they could no longer distribute city offices, city patronage and city franchises in exchange for political services. They fail to perceive that they could hardly supply us with a stronger argument in favor of any course than to urge that it would ensure their own retirement to private life. They remind us of the criminal who tried to excuse his theft by declaring that he had to live; and our reply is that of the judge who was unable to see that there was any necessity for prolonging such an existence.

If the vitality of our parties was confined to their parasites or bacilli of corruption, the sooner their remains could be placed beneath the roots of new organizations the better it would be. But there is abundant reason for believing that if the spoilsmen could be cast out, their places would speedily be filled with a

much better class of men, who are now almost entirely excluded from political life by those very qualities of sterling honesty and genuine patriotism which should be deemed as necessary for our parties as for our public service. Even if the result was in doubt there should be no hesitation in resorting to the surgical operation which affords the only chance of saving the patient.

The interests of our national parties and of our cities in this connection are the same, and we might admit the most extreme views in regard to the paramount importance of the former without lessening the force of our argument. If there was the slightest ground for supposing that the spoils system is necessary for the activity and proper conduct of political parties, we could understand a reluctance to favor methods which would interfere with it. But such methods should surely receive our most earnest and enthusiastic support, if we believe that the fruits of the spoils system are weakness instead of strength, and disgust instead of respect, and that its whole tendency is to substitute greed for patriotism, corruption for virtue, and folly for wisdom in all our partisan, public and private affairs. Those who are most anxious for their national parties to have the confidence and support of the voters of the United States should be foremost in every movement to free them from the malign influence of corrupt leaders and mercenary followers, and to make them truly representative of the business sagacity, the commercial integrity, the patriotic sentiments, and moral principles of the American people.

It would be easy to present additional arguments to confirm the views already expressed. Much might be said of the advantages of municipal parties in leading the voters to consider their local interests and to be guided by their own opinions, instead of acting as the dumb driven cattle of unprincipled bosses. The new system would certainly tend to develop intelligent discrimination and independence in the voters, and a much larger proportion of our citizens would recognize the importance of honesty and ability in local officials, if no intruding thought of national issues could blind them to the direct connection between

their votes and the size of their tax bills, or the health, prosperity and beauty of their city.

The limits of this paper have, however, been reached, and it is hoped that enough has been said to show that it is the duty of all good citizens to unite in a more earnest, general and systematic advocacy of the principle that the interference of national parties in municipal contests should never be tolerated in any community. This should be supported and accompanied by a combination of all the friends of good government in each city in a purely municipal and representative organization, which will not only carry on an active propaganda, but will also be prepared to take the place of the national parties in the nomination and election of candidates for local positions.

The missionary work can be most rapidly advanced by first convincing and securing the aid of those who are already leaders of thought and persons of influence in the pulpit or in the press, or in social, professional, business or labor organizations, or in religious, philanthropic or educational work. There should be no difficulty in finding arguments which would appeal to the special interests of each individual, for there is no class, no condition, no field of human activity in which good government is not an essential for the attainment of satisfactory results.

The despotic control which is exercised by corrupt leaders and by corporations and contractors over the legislators and officials whom they practically select or appoint, is not only a constant source of extravagance, bad work and poor service, but it is also the greatest obstacle to such legislation as is most desired, and would be for the best interest of the people. Unwise and wasteful appropriations tend to produce high taxes, high rents and high prices for all the necessities of life, as well as to prevent appropriations for schools, important works and public charities. The corruption, which is synonymous with the spoils system, demoralizes our youth, infects our courts, and counteracts every good influence and every right effort which is made to raise the individual or popular standards of private, social, political and business life. The more we study the practical and

all-pervading effects of a Republican form of government the clearer will be our perception of the truth that it is the most powerful of all human agencies, for either advancing or retarding the moral, mental and material progress of the community in which it exists.

With such facts as these at our command we should surely be able to multiply the numbers of those who realize that there is no higher or more imperative duty than that of always striving to purify and improve the government under which we live.

CIVIC FEDERATION OF CHICAGO.

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During the past eighteen months a civic revival has occurred in Chicago, the evidences of which are familiar to all her citizens. These acts of civic patriotism are by no means, as will appear later, the work of a single organization. The Civic Federation, which this paper will describe, is not the centre and circumference of the new civic spirit in Chicago; it is rather the rallying point around which the civic patriotism of Chicago citizens has gathered. But, as will be explained, the work accomplished, partly through the agency of the Civic Federation, has been performed by a great many individuals and associations in combination; each and all representing different elements of public interest.

In order to mark the contrast between all, the outlook in Chicago previous to 1893 and the present condition, the Civic Federation must be described in brief. The organization consists, then, according to the by-laws as recently amended, of a central council, consisting of one hundred and thirty-four members, and an affiliated council of one hundred members in each ward. Of the thirty-four wards in the city, thirty-two are already organized as branches of the central council. Of the one hundred and thirty-four members of the central council, one hundred were selected by the incorporators; the remaining thirty-four are presidents of the ward councils. The central council is divided into six departments, the jurisdiction of which was not originally, and has not yet been, precisely defined; but the scope of the different departments has been arranged without difficulty, so that there is a practical understanding about division of labor. The six departments are: 1, political; 2, municipal; 3, philan-

thropic; 4, industrial; 5, educational; 6, moral. The ward councils are organized with committees corresponding to the departments of the central council. The members of the ward councils are kept in touch with the plans and efforts of the central council by means of meetings called by the departmental committees of the several departments, in which all members of the corresponding ward committees participate. The constitution of the Federation provides for the organization of precinct councils, which shall have the same relation to the ward councils which the latter hold to the central council. Thus far the organization of precinct councils has been attempted in only one or two instances; and the Federation proper consists, therefore, of the membership of the central and the ward councils. The central council has an executive committee consisting of five executive officers: president, first and second vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer and ten other members. This executive committee, which is also a board of trustees, has authority to appoint such other officers and agents to hold during the pleasure of the board as it shall deem advisable, and it has general control of all matters of the Federation not otherwise provided for in the by-laws.

As already remarked, and as will be further explained, the Civic Federation cannot, and does not, claim the chief credit for the patriotic work which the citizens of Chicago have accomplished during the last eighteen months. It is impossible, however, to tell the story of these achievements without connecting them with the organization of the Federation. They are therefore referred to at this point as though they were the work of the Federation, but the precise facts will appear in the sequel.

The account of the form of organization of the Civic Federation and this synopsis of the work in which the Civic Federation has had a part, furnishes the occasion for pointing out facts beneath the surface, which make the experience of Chicago instructive. In order to bring out these facts it is necessary to recount the history of the Civic Federation. It cannot be stated too emphatically that the Chicago civic revival, and particularly the organization of the Federation, marked a stage in orderly

civic evolution. The visible impulse which led to effective, organized expression of civic consciousness in Chicago was a mass meeting called at Central Music Hall, Sunday, November 12, 1893, by Mr. William T. Stead, of London. It was a mere accident, however, and not at all significant, that this spark which ignited the material already collected, was struck by a stranger and a foreigner. The more important fact is that long before this incident, prominent Chicago citizens had given much attention to plans for municipal organization to do work that the city government was notoriously unlikely to perform.

The first fact which deserves remark in a discussion of the Federation is that it was distinctly not the creature of speculative theory. It was the arrangement in working form of elements that had already existed in Chicago. It was a body of men and women representing in the most complete way the different essential interests of residents within the city limits. It was not an attempt to exploit a doctrine, but rather to insure the permanence and development of an already existing reality. This fact was forcibly expressed by Mr. Gage when he said in his address upon resigning the office of president: "Your association was not an invention, the result of an ingenious mind studying to provide some new form of public activity for restless persons hungry for notoriety. It was a crystallization of sentiment slowly formed through long periods against civil and social abuses no longer bearable."

The second cardinal fact about the Federation is that its organizers were wise enough to incorporate and express in its constitution the distinct policy of making both its aims and its membership as completely representative as possible of all the interests which the most liberal interpretation could call the interests of good citizens. The organization was not a group of the elect trying to legislate for the non-elect, it was a company of delegates (somewhat arbitrarily selected, to be sure) representing all the elements in the population, that seemed to be honestly desirous of helping to work out civic salvation. This

trait appeared first in the following clause of the preamble of the by-laws :

" The objects of this Federation shall be * * * to serve as a medium of acquaintance and sympathy between persons who reside in the different parts of the city, who pursue different vocations, who are by birth of different nationalities, who profess different creeds, or no creed, who for all these reasons are unknown to each other, but who, nevertheless, have similar interests in the well-being of Chicago, and who agree in the desire to promote every kind of municipal welfare."

This trait appeared second in the composition of the membership. Whatever various individuals may hold about the relative influence which different classes ought to have upon civic action, there is practically no difference of opinion in Chicago about the fundamental necessity of basing social prosperity of all sorts upon a secure foundation of business principles. Like all other enlightened people in the world, Chicago citizens are eager for comfort and culture, for the enjoyment of music and art, for the benefits of high standards of honor, for the security that comes from progress in genuine learning, morality and religion. But scholar, priest, preacher, philanthropist, politician and financier are frankly agreed in Chicago that however desirable the flowers and fruits of human development may be, there is no short cut to the possession of them by the average man, and the only way to make them more general is to reckon with the wisdom which experience has taught in the conduct of business, on which the possibility of all real progress depends. Accordingly, it was perfectly in accord with the genius of the city, and at the same time with the dictates of right reason, that a large nucleus of successful organizers of business should be provided for in the new organization. It is needless to catalogue the other types of membership, but it should be noted that in all departments of effort which the Federation has undertaken, the active partnership of the commercial element with politics, law, philanthropy, education and morals has insured the plans adopted against the admixture of utopianism which has so often proved fatal in simi-

lar enterprises. The organization is not only professionally, but geographically and socially, municipal in the widest sense; and it is thus as far as possible protected against the development of any sort of class spirit or provincialism.

The third cardinal fact about the civic revival in Chicago was referred to in the introduction, viz., that the Civic Federation succeeded in co-ordinating and concentrating municipal patriotism, because it distinctly appreciated the impossibility of cornering civic virtue in a single organization. The people who formed the Federation were never visibly affected by any form of the hallucination that they had a monopoly of the good citizenship of the town. They took it for granted from the beginning that their body could at most be a sort of switchboard, or clearing-house, of civic patriotism. They understood perfectly that if the Federation should attempt to set itself up as the only exponent of good citizenship in the town it would speedily be without occupation. Attempts have been made by select companies of men in various cities to purify municipal politics by a personally-conducted crusade. The result has been aggravation that hardly rose to the dignity of agitation, and no large fraction of municipal energy has been aroused and enlisted. The Civic Federation, on the other hand, started with the perception that Chicago is a network of organizations varying greatly in their specific purposes, but in scores of cases distinctly committed to some portions of the work which evidently make up the total of successful municipal action. Some of these organizations evidently possessed advantages over the Federation for various kinds of influence. It would have been stupid generalship to attempt to usurp the influence in the town which these organizations possessed, and about the patriotic use of which they needed no instructions from the members of the Federation. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the Federation to acquire the strength which these organizations had long possessed. Accordingly, the Federation again exhibited its character as a natural evolution of local conditions by offering itself as an organ of co-operation between these well-known agencies. It inau-

gured a series of civic movements on the presumption that the execution of them would involve the harmonious action of the bodies of citizens to which we refer. The results of the co-operation which followed in pursuance of this programme have already been indicated.

The fourth distinguishing feature of the movement was that it was comprehensive rather than fractional. It did not confine itself to rectifying a single abnormal municipal condition, neglecting all the rest; on the contrary, it confronted municipal conditions as a whole, and attempted to exert an influence toward rescuing them from demoralization that had resulted from popular neglect. It consequently avoided the mistake of dealing with a few especially interesting symptoms and thus making a false diagnosis of the total condition.

If an individual should venture to distribute his attention over such a wide territory he would be likely to make an utter failure, unless he were in a position of authority like that of a mayor, with ample powers and rare executive ability. More than that, an association constructed on the usual lines would doubtless have made a more complete failure than an individual. A club of the ordinary character which should undertake to reform everything, would probably reform nothing, and would presently, itself most of all, need reform. The new civic movement in Chicago had as its rallying centre, not the omnibus committee, but a genuine Federation; a committee of committees; an association of associations. From the representative citizens in the central council and the branch ward councils committees were formed of persons who undertook to promote particular improvements. These committees co-operated, as occasion suggested, with similar committees representing other bodies. Each member of the Federation, and of the co-operating associations, was presumed to be interested, in a general way, in the work of the rest, but in a particular way in the duty assigned to his committee. The central council of the Federation became sponsor for the work of all the committees, and through this bond union all the citizens represented in the general association

became, in a sense, responsible for the work of all the rest. In this way a collection of committees, each particularly interested in a special kind of municipal work, became a confederation, with purposes covering the whole range of municipal action. Each group composing the confederation had a moral guarantee of the support of the whole in carrying out measures which had once received the endorsement of the central body. Each person became a more effective supporter than he would otherwise have been of efforts parallel and allied with those to which he had given his direct assistance.

The fifth distinguishing feature of the Federation's work was its investigation of facts. In each division of its operations it abandoned theory and went out after pertinent information. From the inspection of garbage boxes and of sewer pipes in basements of school-houses, to watching the polls and holding consultations with the parties opposed to each other during the strike, the policy of the Federation was that of getting its facts at first hand. In the nature of the case the facts so obtained were not as complete and not always as accurate as desirable; but the investigation carried on resulted in reports, several of which contain information of the most startling character about certain conditions in the city in which all citizens have a share of interest.

These reports in the aggregate constitute a body of information which should be published, and which the Federation doubtless will publish as both model and basis for further investigation in the future. Too much cannot be said in commendation of the character of the work of which these reports are specimens. It was throughout in striking contrast with the dilettantish attempts of many people to reform the world by irresponsible declamation.

The sixth and last special feature to be mentioned as characteristic of this civic movement is the unusual degree to which the aggressive work of the Federation was assigned to people who might be called experts. The Federation did not assume that school teachers are the best people to draft revenue laws, nor that ministers are likely to be competent inspectors of sanitary conditions; nor that politicians will do good service in regulating educational and religious enterprises. To a remarkable

extent the work of the Federation was conducted as a business man would manage his commercial enterprises, viz., by securing specialists for special work, and by depending upon them to know their business. The persons organized in connection with the Federation were not people who had previously failed to find any employment in which they could make a success for themselves, and who wished a chance to regulate other people's affairs because they had never succeeded in satisfactorily regulating their own. They were people on the other hand who had been in the habit of bringing things to pass, and consequently were wanted by their fellow-citizens for their well-known ability. Thus the different branches of effort undertaken by the Federation were successful because they were superintended by people fitted by talent and experience to carry on for themselves work requiring similar qualifications.

We shall not draw from this account of the Civic Federation in Chicago any conclusions with reference to the policy proper for other cities. This paper is an attempt to give a faithful report and interpretation of some of the most important features connected with the first year's history of this Chicago institution. Possibly the record may be of little value elsewhere. It represents, however, a most important advance along natural lines of progress in our own city. As to the value of all this for Chicago we may conclude in the words of Mr. Gage: "These reports, one and all, utterly fail to show the great public benefit conferred by your association in ways that can find only indirect expression in the reports of practical doings. Your existence, your words and deeds, have reawakened the slumbering civic life. You have created a civic centre, where the sympathy and desire of those who love the city we live in may be safely focalized. You have given hope and confidence to thousands who have become pessimists on American municipal institutions. You have made it possible, as demonstrated in the late vote on Civil Service Reform, to rally in a great cause the best sentiments of our people. These, and others that might be named, constitute the moral victories which cannot be made to appear in tabulated form."

LAW ENFORCEMENT SOCIETIES.

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Doubtless the views expressed in this paper will meet the cordial opposition of many who may do the writer the honor of reading it. If those who have better or more practical views on the question of law enforcement will only put them in practice, and others who are violating the law will be led to reform, this writing will have been of value. The question under discussion is, Law Enforcement and what makes for better government in the cities, and what Brooklyn's Law Enforcement Society has done for her.

Law Enforcement Societies in the broad, general sense of the term embrace all organizations that have for their object the enforcement of law in any of its branches. In that sense of the term they include societies for the suppression of vice, certain temperance organizations and societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and to animals, as well as the municipal law enforcement societies treated of in this article.

It is in the more restricted sense that the name is here employed to designate those organizations whose object is to compel the literal enforcement of statutes and ordinances by those charged with the duty of executing them, whose scope is not limited to any one phase of crime, and whose field of action is usually confined to enforcing the law within the bounds of some particular municipal corporation. The necessity for organizations of this kind arises from the inability, inefficiency and unwillingness of municipal authorities to enforce the laws and ordinances as they should, of their own accord. The latter is the more potent cause. A municipal law enforcement society may, and often does, fulfill a useful field in supplementing the authori-

ties, in preventing certain violations of law which are difficult to reach in an adequate manner, or in calling the attention of the authorities to such violations.

The Law Enforcement Society of Brooklyn and County of Kings has for several months past been engaged in the massing of evidence of violations of law by gamblers, keepers of houses of prostitution and saloonkeepers and might continue to be a useful agent to the city in these respects for an indefinite time. The object of this society has not been, however, to transform itself into an adjunct to the district attorney's office or police department, for the arrest and prosecution of minor offenses, but rather to bring public officials to recognize the evil methods of their subordinates and to call their attention to violations of the law. In this object it has met with marked success considering the magnitude of the work undertaken and the many obstacles thrown in its way. Opposition to the work as well as to the views advanced is encountered everywhere, for such societies are not born of popularity. They may become popular; they may become feared. They are usually organized by progressive and enthusiastic men with strong convictions of right doing. Of such men the masses are not composed; therefore, again I say, the inception of Law Enforcement Societies is not popular. Such societies aim not to undertake the prosecution of offenses, but to compel the paid official to execute his duty in that respect.

Something of the scope of the action of investigation is indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. They have for their great general purpose the object of ultimately compelling the personal observance of law and ordinances by every person, whatsoever situation he may occupy. Practically, however, much of this work is more properly within the cognizance of the moralist, and can only be effectively accomplished through his agency. The domain wherein law ends and personal morality begins includes so much in common, and the lines of demarkation are so delicate, that societies of this kind, while recognizing the importance of questions, are unable to deal with them effectively. It is, therefore, only when private vice allies itself with political

power, when its propagation is aided and encouraged by the negligence of the officers appointed to suppress it, and when the moralist finds his efforts to combat it baffled by a system of protection and bribery too powerful for him to overcome, that then the Law Enforcement Society comes to his aid and endeavors to break the connection between public officials and those connected with their vicious practices. The war on political vice is a great feature of law enforcement societies of to-day. It is the one thing that has affected the creation of almost all of these societies of to-day. It has revived the dormant activities of old societies, and has made such organizations the rallying point of all of those to whom municipal reform is dear. The work so successfully carried on in New York City through the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst, the splendid work of Anthony Comstock, throughout the country, for the suppression of vice, remains still to be accomplished in the municipalities throughout the country; for this kind of corruption is so general as to be a national evil, peculiar to no one city, and varying only in extent according to the population and environment of the various cities of the country.

An enumeration of the principal vices to which a large proportion of law breakers are addicted, furnishes the particular lines within which the law enforcement societies work. A vice cannot reach the position which necessitates the creation of such an organization to oppose it, unless it is general enough in practice to call into being means and appliances for its prosecution, and to require agents to minister to its gratifications. Accordingly we find that vice and municipal corruption are allied along the lines in which the former are most extensively practiced. Such vices are generally confined to gambling, drunkenness and licentiousness. Even in the larger cities, establishments where vice is carried on are rarely more than places for the gratification of one or more of these passions, though often with all degrees of repulsiveness. Gambling exists almost universally, and is almost universally under police protection. When it exists as a business, it cannot be carried on any length of time without due publicity.

Its votaries are not usually inclined to much secrecy, unless directly interested in some place in which the vice is practiced, yet it is rarely suppressed or disturbed, except as a result of agitation ; and rarely fails, when disturbed, to resume operations at or near the same place when public indignation has subsided.

Violators of the liquor law usually manifest themselves in breaking the Sunday law, keeping later hours than authorized by licenses, and selling liquor to intoxicated persons or minors. There is rarely an effort made to suppress such violations, except in cases of selling liquor to minors, when the sense of the community is strong enough to insure conviction in reasonably good cases. Licentiousness exists generally, and is rarely disturbed unless open and flagrant, thrusting its noxious example into otherwise respectable neighborhoods. In New York the revelation of the corruption of the police departments in sustaining and authorizing vice of this character was a startling sensation of the Lexow investigation. It is said to exist to some extent in Brooklyn, but its proximity to New York City tends to centralize it in the latter city. The effect of the Lexow investigation was to drive a considerable number of persons of this class from New York to Brooklyn, at least temporarily.

Another form of vice that our fair city and county have been cursed with in the past, of which there seems to be and is at present an overshadowing for the future, is that of horse-race gambling. It is a form of gambling that has been and is a matter of peculiar concern to Brooklyn and Kings County. The amendment to the state constitution has rendered gambling in any form, in connection with horse races, almost an impossibility if the laws be strictly enforced. There is, however, an open disposition on the part of legislators to hinder by all means the passage of acts for the enforcement of the constitutional provisions against such gambling, and it remains to be seen whether any relief will be afforded by the constitutional amendment under which the bills known as the Percy-Gray and Wilds measures have been enacted. The latest reports from the race track would seem to convey the impression that the good people

of this fair city and county are again to witness, for some time to come, a carnival of crime in race-track gambling, unless the duly accredited authorities shall take the matter in hand, and force the gamblers to desist. In New Jersey the subject has been a state issue, a battle between the people and the race-track gamblers, and the people have won, although the gamblers have escaped punishment through the Court of Pardons. The extortion of money from merchants in exchange for protection, and from minor tradesmen and peddlers for the privilege of violating municipal ordinances are features of municipal corruption quite prominent and prevalent. The conviction of a police captain for accepting a bribe of fruit from the owner of a stand in his precinct in New York is still fresh in the public mind and illustrative of this point. But of small importance, comparatively, is such a conviction. The conviction forced upon the minds of an intelligent community that such practices prevailed, must result eventually in either a cessation of the evil or of the stamping out of the system which permits it. This is the important result at which we aim.

Again, current rumor throughout this country charges widespread official corruption, bribe giving and bribe taking. It tells of large funds raised for the purpose of securing or preventing specific legislation. The corruption of legislatures at Albany, Trenton and other state capitols has become a noxious stench in our homes, the citadels of this country. It has struck heavy blows at the public faith in our form of government. The question has been asked, "Have we government by the people?" Inquire of the next man you chance to meet whether such is the fact, or merely the theory. In New York State the people have again and again ousted the usurper, and again and again has another appeared who sought to rule not alone in the state, but in counties, cities, and even less important localities. There is no more important question affecting our system of government than this same question of "boodle," its uses, its effects and its dangers. As to its uses: It undermines the strong; it debauches the weak; it buys votes; it has been employed both for and

against the interests of the public; it forces compromise and produces guilty deals; it secures attention everywhere.

As to its effects; it has to a large extent, at least in the opinion of the public, supplanted honest argument for or against proposed legislation; it has placed upon our statute books, if public rumor be right, laws obnoxious to the citizens' best interests and wishes; it has effaced laws which stood as safeguards to the public treasury; it has defeated bills demanded by the people and opposed by corporations. But what of this? Such things eventually right themselves. Far worse are its dangers. Who shall say what danger the individual official runs when approached by a bribe giver? No one can say when or where his danger will end. His conscience may be his only accuser. His best friend may suspect and loathe him. His associates, no better than he, may know his debasement and hold it over him. His family may wonder at his generosity, and finally the law may seize him and incarcerate him, and the end even then, not come. These are the dangers merely of the individual law-breakers. The dangers to the community are more widespread. The faith of a community may be entirely destroyed, not alone in the individuals, but in the system itself. The rights of the community may be, for a time at least, trampled upon and cast aside. The remedy for these evils is not found in the conviction of a few. Not until the adverse sentiment in a community is so strong as to compel the officials to shun the corruptionist, and force the corruptionist to seek employment and oust the entire system and its advocates which countenances this widespread and ever-spreading disease, will the law-abiding community have relief. There is, indeed, at this time, a general belief, perhaps well founded, too, that in many communities and states public officials can be purchased. It is this belief which, when molded, is all powerful, and will cause political revolutions; and while our Law Enforcement Societies have no politics, it is still our duty to mold public opinion, attract attention to unlawful acts of officials, and support candidates who will not only enforce but obey the law. In no other way can we hope to establish upon a firm and lasting basis the principles for which we labor.

Law enforcement societies are more frequently confined to large cities, at least large cities as a rule are the field for their operation, for the reason that cities usually present a community of interests of a character that commands the attention of the law-abiding citizens of the community who are daily outraged by repeated violations of law in the very front of lawful authority. As to the methods of operation of such societies, it may be said that the organizations are of two kinds. The one, a society of an indefinite number of persons acting through an executive committee upon which almost unlimited powers are bestowed; and the other is a society of persons from whom delegates are chosen who, with delegates from various churches or other associated societies, form an advisory board from which an executive committee with greater or less power is chosen. The latter organization has many theoretical advantages on account of the union of all classes of interests in one body, but in practice the simpler organization, with almost unlimited discretion in the executive committee, is productive of the best results. In either case the actual work is carried on by the executive committee. Particular branches of work are allotted to sub-committees that evidence may be procured, offenses prosecuted, legislation promoted, or to do such other work as is allotted to them, subject to the advice and control of the committee. Their methods and success lie in the personality and resources of their members. It is here that strong character and self-sacrifice are required, and upon these ultimately depend the society's success. The society should also keep a check upon municipal action, watch general and local legislation and the administration, and be a bureau of information to citizens and voters, for every citizen feels stronger in pressing his grievances upon duly constituted officers of the law, if he knows there is an organized moral force behind him. It is, however, by publicity rather than by prosecution and correction that these societies accomplish their greatest good. To make vice and crime so odious, and fasten the responsibility of its existence upon those charged with its suppression so inevitably that the people will awaken to the magnitude of the evil,

and put a stop to it, is its great aim. To this purpose all its other activities are subordinate. Its possible success with Brooklyn and elsewhere is evidenced by the recent upheaval in the city of New York. It is common knowledge that the press of the country were not a unit in the support of Dr. Parkhurst in his great labors, and this thought leads me up to a subject of never-ending controversy, does the public press mold public opinion? The writer opines that the dependent public press follows, rather than leads, public opinion, which it may or may not have helped to make, influenced, as it often is, by its editors, reporters, stockholders, agents or servants, through their personal influence. The rich and independent public press bears a different relation to affairs, and apart from purely political questions, more often leads than follows public opinion. This view does not apply to the venal press, which, fortunately for America, is in the vast minority in issue, and as it is known to have its price its influence is circumscribed. If the community is for progress in affairs, its leading press will be found voicing steps to bring it about. If developments are made showing crime and venality to be on the increase in opposition to the best sentiment in the community, a clean press will be bold and valiant in its efforts to bring about or arouse dormant public sentiment, and crush out the evil in question. But no newspaper can be true to sound principles and right methods and be financially successful unless the community to which it looks for support is in favor of such principles and methods. As an ally of reform the clean newspaper is invaluable. May they multiply. But even such newspapers are not infallible. Yet even their mistakes in judgment often serve a wise purpose.

It seems trite to say here that the millennium is not at hand. Nor yet on the other hand can we be sure we are at our worst in the conduct of affairs. The wave of reform is sweeping over the country. It may only touch and pass over your city or mine. It will depend upon the moral strength of the community in which you reside whether your city is to be cleaned as were the Augean stables of old. Are they ready for it; are there enough

public citizens in your midst to take hold, like Dr. Parkhurst, Anthony Comstock and others, who are willing to sacrifice ease and comfort to go out in the highways and byways and arouse the people from their lethargy? Surely there must be more than one Moses in this vast country around. Yes there are, and only time, attention and opportunity are needed to bring them upon the scene. Only agitate, agitate, agitate. The true remedy lies in persistent agitation, not in an agitation of words or display of useless literature, but in constantly searching and holding up to the light violations of law through the public voice; in detecting corruption and fastening the guilt upon those who have committed it, and in making odious and repulsive both the violation and the violator of the law.

Law enforcement societies of this kind must be persistent in methods and careful in the solicitation of members. Let them be modest in their undertakings and assumings. Let them be composed of ever so few members; let them at first do nothing but find out the derelictions of public duty on the part of public servants. But be correct, be accurate in statement as far as possible, always remembering that you are one for the right among the many who are opposed to your very existence, because of your opposition to their unlawful methods. Every mistake that is made by your organization will be magnified a hundred-fold, but such mistakes will be made. Yet we will not be discouraged, for he who never makes mistakes never makes anything. Law enforcement societies are the issues of the hour; they are born of progress; they are taking a place in affairs. If they are founded upon the principles of justice to all, they are bound to endure. The evils they have to contend against are so great and systematically organized and conducted as to form a problem for legislative action. But even the attempt to procure good results in legislation, the struggle for the passage of good laws and the repeal of bad ones, is productive of the greatest publicity and good and the utility of thorough and conscientious legislative investigation into the manner of violations of law is seen at a glance. The local authorities are invariably unwilling, the

private citizens unable, to conduct a systematic investigation, even if empowered so to do, and in no other way can these societies be so effectively aided as by thorough publicity of the acts and methods of law breakers, especially of those in official stations. The difficulties by which such societies are surrounded are not easy to surmount. As heretofore referred to in other language the principal thing they have to contend against is public indifference. Citizens as a rule take but little interest in the work of the enforcement of law until its violation hurts them in their pockets and interferes with their convenience. Indeed the latter consideration seems of little weight, for the American public will suffer bad streets, unsightly erections and inadequate improvements, and at the same time disregard dishonesty and incompetency in official positions with an equanimity that is truly marvelous.

Closely allied to this is the question of how to obtain the means to carry on any effective work. As has been said, men do not willingly give to such objects except in cases of agitation; yet if evidence is to be procured it must be through trained and skilled detectives; headquarters must be had; and the necessary supplies and equipments furnished, all of which require a liberal expenditure of money, for in fighting the devils of evil we must go about equipped with the best weapons of offense and defense, and as a rule, when a public spirit is called for, the burden falls upon a few devoted men whose means will stand the drain. It is a matter of much regret that it should be so, but experience tells us that it is inevitable so long as the public is indifferent to its own welfare. Do not be discouraged at apparent defeat by an absence of immediate beneficial results from your labors. Your public stand for the right is of inestimable value to the cause of good government. You have shown the courage of your convictions. If you have not succeeded in all you have undertaken to accomplish, you are known to have been identified with, and been a part of, a society established for the purpose of perpetuating sound principles in the enforcement of law, and that in itself is an honor.

GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE PHYSICIAN AND SANITARIAN.

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From the point of view of the physician, the best city government is that which best preserves the health of the people, best cares for the sick and injured who require municipal aid, and gives most opportunities for the increase and diffusion of medical knowledge in connection with such care; and which, at the same time, interferes least with the freedom of individuals in general, and of physicians in particular, to use their time, their knowledge and their property in their own way and for their own benefit. As a rule, the physician does not give much consideration to the cost of municipal work devoted to the prevention and treatment of disease, because such work appears to him to be of supreme importance.

The sanitarian also considers that the best city government is that which best preserves the health of the people, but with the proviso that it be done at a reasonable cost. His interest in hospitals, medical schools, etc., is an indirect one, and his views about the rights of individuals *versus* those of the community, as a whole, are apt to differ from those held by many physicians.

The duties of a municipal government which relate more especially to the health of the people, whether these be well or sick, may be roughly classified under the following heads:

1. Vital statistics. 2. Water supply. 3. Sewage disposal.
4. Garbage, refuse and ashes disposal. 5. Streets and parks.
6. Soil drainage. 7. Prevention of the spread of contagious and infectious diseases. 8. Prevention of overcrowding and provid-

ing for cleanliness. 9. Prevention and suppression of nuisances. 10. Supervision of the food supply. 11. Regulation of the liquor traffic. 12. Prevention of accidents. 13. Care of the sick and injured poor. 14. Disposal of the dead.

It is not my purpose in this brief paper to attempt to indicate precisely how these various desiderata should be provided for by a city government. Many of them require different treatment in different cities, and *each of them requires expert knowledge to obtain the best results*. It is this last fact which is of special importance at the present time. Where and how can a city government best obtain the benefit of this expert knowledge? This is one of the most important questions of the day, and should be carefully considered by the Municipal League, bearing in mind the following points:

First.—Reliable expert knowledge cannot be obtained in a few days or weeks by reading books and papers on the subject. *Second*.—It cannot be obtained by means of a traveling committee, which is to visit other cities to find out how the matter is managed in different places. *Third*.—It cannot be obtained from a person who is interested in the adoption of a patented or proprietary plan or form of apparatus. The apparatus may be the best thing for the purpose, and such as an expert should recommend, but the opinion of the proprietor about it is not a reliable one. *Fourth*.—An ordinary medical education does not make a man an expert on any of the subjects named. *Fifth*.—A man may be an expert on one or more of the subjects named, and know very little about the others. No man is an expert on all of them. *Sixth*.—At present the only way of obtaining really valuable advice on these subjects is by paying an expert for it.

A city needs the services of two kinds of experts upon most of the subjects named. The first are men who have had much experience in, and have devoted years of study to the particular subject, and who should be called in consultation with regard to plans to be pursued in water supply, sewage disposal, methods of compiling vital statistics, hospital construction, etc. There is little difficulty in finding out who these men are, if the informa-

tion is really desired. The second class includes the men who are to carry out the plans agreed upon and to have charge of the work—the permanent city officials, the health officers and engineers. How shall these officials be selected? What should be their qualifications, compensation and tenure of office? And what should be their relations to each other? In the majority of our cities they are selected for political and personal reasons, and not because of their knowledge of the subject. In some of the cities, their tenure of office is fairly permanent, they do not go out of office with the person who appointed them, or with the party, and thus, in these cities, the present officials have gradually become expert in their work; but in case one of them dies or resigns, there are very few cities which have any system for the selection of a competent man to take his place. Should they be selected by competitive, or so-called "civil service," examination? It is an excellent method, especially for subordinate officers, if a competent, impartial and trustworthy examining board can be provided; but how is such a board to be organized for the examination of candidates for the position of municipal engineer or health officer? Can a better plan be devised than to give the mayor full power in the matter and hold him responsible for the results? The answer to this will depend somewhat on the plan which the National Municipal League is prepared to urge for the obtaining of satisfactory mayors. It should be noted, however, that the phrase "hold him responsible for the results" means very little as applied to the health department of a city, because, as a rule, no one knows exactly what the results are, at least for a number of years. Few things are more difficult to ascertain than the manner in which a health officer is doing his work and its results upon the health of the people, and as regards a board of health it is quite impossible to do this. Occasionally it has happened that a thoroughly incompetent man, who sought the place because he had failed in everything else, or a very intemperate man, or a man who owned stock in an odorless excavating company, has been detected and gotten rid of, but as a rule a health officer is removed because the place is wanted for some one else.

The experiment of having the board of health appointed by the courts has been tried, as has been that of having the health officer elected by the local medical society, but I am not prepared to advise either of these plans.

The problem will be much simplified when there is a general demand for competent, properly trained men to fill the positions of municipal health officers and engineers. Such a demand can hardly be said at present to exist in the United States. It does exist in England, and special courses of training and of examinations for certificates of competence are there provided for. In this country there are at least two laboratories of hygiene where a special course of training for the duties of a health officer is available, but there are very few pupils, because there is no demand for professional men of this kind, and at present the students in these laboratories, as a rule, merely desire instruction in bacteriology, and not much of that. A knowledge of bacteriology is important to a health officer, but it is but a small part relatively to what he should know.

There are not now in this country many men who would be generally recognized to be competent and desirable as health officers, but there are more than enough to fill the places which are open to them and which are worth their acceptance. No health officer of any city of twenty-five thousand inhabitants and upwards can perform his duties properly unless he gives his whole time to them. He cannot engage in any private business and do his work as it should be done. To obtain the medical, statistical, bacteriological, chemical and legal knowledge which he should possess will require six years' time and several thousand dollars, in addition to the time and money required to obtain a good, general education before he begins his special studies. Where is the place for a man thus properly trained? Can you expect him to accept a probable three or four years' tenure of office? Do you think that the prospect of less pay than that of a fairly successful physician or lawyer will tempt the young man to fit himself for such a position?

The question "How can the tenure of office of the compe-

tent health officer or engineer of a city be made so secure as to warrant a man's fitting himself and striving for it," is of course only one phase of a much broader question, but it presents some peculiarities of its own. A scientific man, with practical knowledge of these subjects, is not made by common or high schools, nor can he be found at a day's notice.

The powers and responsibilities of a municipal health department are steadily increasing. In cases of emergency, the health officer is not only the prosecutor but has judicial and executive powers, and it is highly important that he should not only be a scientific man, but be possessed of sound common sense and have had some practical experience. To secure this it is desirable that the position of chief of the health department of a city should be filled by promotion of one of the assistants in that department, or by the selection of a competent and experienced man from another city. In other words, the business of a practical, municipal sanitarium should be recognized as a distinct profession, as much at least as that of an engineer.

I will not attempt to give figures as to compensation, but a city of fifty thousand inhabitants makes a good bargain if it can secure a thoroughly satisfactory health officer for \$4000 a year for his first ten years' service, and \$5000 a year after that until he is at least sixty years old, and this applies to the municipal engineer as well. Cheap men in these positions are an extravagance which no city should indulge in.

The next question in this connection is, what should be the duties, responsibilities and mutual relations of the several officials charged with matters relating to the health of the people? There are great differences in opinion as well as in practice upon this point, but the tendency has been to make each department independent of the others, as far as possible. The engineer holds aloof from the health department; if the latter inspects his water supply or makes chemical or bacteriological examinations of it, he is doubtful about the results, and thinks that such matters should be made under his direction. If the garbage removal business is under the direction of the health officer, it will occa-

sionally bring him into collision with the police department; if it is under the direction of some other official, the health officer is very likely to make trouble for him. No system will prove satisfactory which prevents the chiefs of the health and engineering departments from presenting their plans and estimates directly to the mayor; and no system of contracts for street cleaning and removal of refuse will in the long run secure work properly done at reasonable rates. All such contracts must be what are known as "gambling contracts." The city should own its own plant and employ its own men for all this kind of work, which should be under the direction of its engineering department.

As a rule, the bureau of vital statistics of a city in this country is under the direction of the health department. In Europe it is usually not so. Much can be said in behalf of each plan. Undoubtedly the health department should have the earliest possible information as to deaths and as to cases of contagious disease. But if the efficiency of the health department is to be judged by the death rates, it would seem as if these death rates should be computed by some independent and competent authority. The death rates published by many of our cities are quite unreliable. The deaths are not all registered, and when they are there are many ways of juggling with them, so that often several years must elapse before the truth can be known, if the state has not a complete system of registration of its own. The system of registration of deaths in some of our cities of one hundred thousand inhabitants and upwards is incomplete, and is not enforced in its details. The estimates of population used in the calculation of death rates are greatly exaggerated in order to produce the semblance of a low mortality, and the results are published in such a way as to give little information as to where and how unnecessary loss of life is occurring. Until the book-keeping of a city with regard to the health and lives of its citizens is made accurate, reliable and fairly accessible to the public, it is useless to talk about judging the health department by its results.

I have said that from the point of view of the sanitarian, the best city government is that which best preserves the health of its people at a reasonable cost. What, then, is a reasonable cost for this purpose? What proportion of the city revenues should be devoted to sanitary inspection and supervision, to the insuring of a water supply, air and food that shall not be dangerous, of clean soil and streets, etc.? This question cannot be answered at present. I believe that Mr. Shaw is perfectly correct in his statement that "the present evils of a city life are temporary and remediable," and that science is competent to answer the problems connected with this. But science is a matter of fact, of quantities, of measurements—it must have data to work with—and the first thing needed for most of our cities is to obtain these data. Essays about the evils of filth, the importance of pure water, or the progress of sanitary science are of very little use or interest at present, in comparison with definite data as to what sums cities are actually expending for sanitary purposes and what results they are obtaining.

I am much inclined to believe that the wisest thing that several cities about which I know something, could now do would be to have their health and engineering departments carefully inspected by a committee composed of an expert statistician, a skilled sanitarian and an experienced municipal engineer, brought from elsewhere for the purpose, who should take from one to six months to do their work thoroughly, and then report the results with their recommendations. The citizens would then know what of these parts of the municipal machinery are in good order, and what are not.

I do not, however, suppose that any city government would do this, and it is improbable that any radical change in existing methods is near at hand; but nothing would give me more satisfaction than to be proven to be wrong in this last surmise. Several cities are now taking wise steps looking to the lessening of the mortality from diphtheria, and presently, no doubt, other causes of disease will be lessened.

The twenty-eight largest cities of the United States now have

an aggregate population of over ten millions of people, of whom over two hundred and fifteen thousand die every year, exclusive of about seventeen thousand still-births; that is, the average death rate in these cities is about twenty-five per one thousand, ranging from seventeen to twenty-seven.

Each year the average number of deaths in these cities is, from consumption twenty-six thousand five hundred, from pneumonia twenty-one thousand five hundred, from diarrhoeal diseases twenty-one thousand, from diphtheria eleven thousand five hundred, from typhoid fever fifty-four hundred, from measles eighteen hundred, from scarlet fever seventeen hundred, from whooping cough eighteen hundred, giving a total from these eight causes of ninety-one thousand two hundred deaths, or over nine per one thousand. If we add to this list the effects of alcoholism, acute and chronic, at least one-half of the deaths would be accounted for, and of this half, I believe that forty per cent. could be prevented at a reasonable cost. In other words, I think it possible to lower the death rates of most of our cities twenty per cent., and that for no city need the gross death rate exceed twenty per one thousand for three successive years, although it must exceed this for a certain limited class of population, and in certain seasons of the year. Each city presents its own peculiar problems, but in many cases these problems can be better solved by experts called in consultation from other cities than by those likely to be selected from the citizens of the place itself.

GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT FROM WOMAN'S STANDPOINT.

MRS. C. A. RUNKLE.

Since you are sure to find me out, I shall make a merit of confessing that I am here under false pretences. When I was asked to speak of *Good City Government from the Woman's Standpoint*, it seemed so good a thing to do that I promised at once. It is true that I was not sure what the subject meant. But other voyagers have ventured forth on unknown seas and come to port. I, too, felt the goad of the discoverer. So, for some weeks, I have been asking myself, "What *is* good government from the Woman's point of view?" And now, after listening for two days to the very interesting and valuable discussions of this Conference, I am more than ever sure that the *man's* point of view and the *woman's* point of view are one; and that both are the prescribed, the inevitable point of view of the good citizen.

If we are not to recognize party in municipal administration—neither Democrat nor Republican, neither Jew nor Gentile, neither bond nor free, though the interest of these divergent classes may not be obviously the same—surely we are not to recognize any difference in the outlook of men and women, who desire the same end, who expect to move along the same road, who have no necessary divergence of opinion as to methods. Except for the single instrumentality of the ballot—a very important one, I admit—the tools that shall build our City of the Future lie ready for the man's hand and the woman's hand alike. There is more than work enough for all. Good city government means, as all our speakers have assured you, an improved sociality—higher motives, larger deeds, better lives, on the part of the citizens. Surely to bring about *that* result is not

man's duty alone, nor woman's duty, but the human being's duty.

Forty years ago, before the ethical sense had quickened into the intense and throbbing life of to-day, it might have been true—I think it *was* true—that the awakened interest of women in the conduct of municipal affairs would have implied a decided reinforcement on the side of morals, and little else. Men considered these subjects sometimes with regard to their economic aspect, and sometimes with regard to political policy. Oftenest of all they simply “marked time” with the movement of events, which were left to go their own way, at a double-quick, or with a laggard step. To-day not only do men see plainly that politics, economics, civics, are their concern chiefly as these subjects concern morals, but women have discovered that their contribution to the general well-being, if it have any value at all, must include clear-headedness as well as that tender-heartedness with which tradition delights to credit them.

George Eliot says somewhere that most women think that two and two *will* make five, if only they cry a little and worry enough about it; and it is, in reality, as it seems to me, because of the new education, the new conditions, which force us, against our will, perhaps, to acknowledge that two and two do make four *every time*—that the assistance and co-operation of women are becoming of enormous and recognized importance.

We begin to see that modern industrial life tends more and more to concentration in great cities, and that this tendency must increase. The conditions governing that life, therefore, seem to intelligent women, as to intelligent men, to demand their most careful study, their most deliberate action. I think it would be fair to say that the misgovernment of cities bears even more heavily upon women than upon men, by reason of their quicker susceptibility to the sufferings of others, and their less assured industrial status, and that they have a greater consequent interest in municipal reform than men have. And it is fair to add that women are less likely to “perceive here a divided duty” than men are. They preserve the tradition of government for the

sake of the governed, and of devotion to that ineffable something—extra territorial, supra political—which expresses itself in civic pride.

The specific objects of municipal administration, the condition of streets, the state of schoolhouses and conduct of schools, general sanitary measures, the reform of tenement houses, the improvement of hospitals, asylums and almshouses, the maintenance of an honest and efficient police, the regulation of the liquor traffic—these are questions which come home to women in the most direct and vital way. In my own city, the greater part of the very great gain effected in the so-called charitable institutions within the last quarter of a century has been begun and largely carried out by women. A single society, The Ladies' Health Protective Association, has made courageous and successful attacks on old abuses that had long defied authority and legislation. In all quarters of the town there are springing up small associations of women who give time and energy to the question of the improvement of the public schools. They are working on the belief that if the boy and girl are taught as they should be taught, then when they become the grown man and woman they will act as they ought to act. Societies for the promotion of the public health arise, and these are busy with the subjects of small parks in the crowded sections, of more drinking fountains, of free baths, of the saloons, and of tenement house reformation. We have a year-old *League for Political Education*, whose object is to instruct women in the practical workings of representative government, and particularly of municipal government, that they may know what can or cannot be done for the public welfare with the political machinery now patented and in general use. This League takes the ground that because the happiness of the citizen is largely affected by governmental action, therefore, all citizens should know the nature of the government under which they live. But still more ought they to study it, man and woman alike, because the most valuable part of the education of grown-up people comes from a knowledge of political affairs, and the more extended this knowledge the greater the ability of the in-

dividual citizen to aid his government. Moreover, this League distinctly perceives that the younger generation of our day is really entering a new world—a world of new ideas in political economy, of new industrial conditions, of new aspirations, and of new material gains and losses through the action of applied science, and that modern government has now to adjust itself to a state of things which has not hitherto existed.

The latest comer to the ranks of associated workers is *The Civic League*, so far a society of women, which hopes in time to have a large membership of men. This society has four departments of labor: Public affairs, public schools, social science and public art. Its intention is to find out all that has been done or that is likely to be done in these fields of effort; to tabulate and systematize this information so as to send each new worker to the place where she can be most useful, to prevent the duplication of work and to facilitate a general economy of time, thought and labor. It asks all existing philanthropic and civic associations in the city to co-operate with it in this attempt at simplification and unity, and it will endeavor to make itself a sort of general clearing-house for all such independent bodies.

I mention these various societies merely to illustrate the fact that women possess, in large measure, three qualities most essential to organized public action—Imagination, Ardor, Energy, and that the woman's point of view, to-day, at least, demands not only zeal, but zeal according to knowledge. We will admit that women bring to the consideration of municipal affairs a steadfast loftiness of ideal, and a willingness to give time and effort which very few men—shall I say have the *leisure* to afford?

The obvious reason—an obvious reason, at least—for this state of things is, not that men are not, *in intention*, good citizens, but that they are too busy to do the things which they see good to be done. Yet is the wisdom of Bacon as wise as it was three centuries ago. "Good thoughts (though God accept them), yet toward men are little better than good dreams unless they be put in act."

I fear that it is somewhat the fault of women that these

good thoughts are not oftener put in act. For professional and business men, as a body, feel that unless they make a fortune or secure social position their lives are failures. And they want this fortune or position chiefly for the embellishment of the home and the decoration of wife and daughters. For the adornment of the part of existence, that is, for which women are more directly responsible. It is to gain this sort of private success that able men and diligent men ignore the public claim upon them, and it is upon the certainty of this neglect that the baser politicians build—that Tammany and the Philadelphia ring and the Chicago boodlers flourish.

To secure good city government, therefore, it seems vitally necessary, from the woman's point of view, that the standards of social life should be changed; that women themselves should care so much more for the common good than for their personal ease and pleasure that they will gladly release the finer energies of men to the general service, and help the fathers and husbands to see that money may be bought too dear, and that, in a democracy, private fortune must always be, in a large sense, a public trust.

Again, from the right-minded woman's point of view, good city government cannot be secured without a very great change for the better in the kind of men who are appointed or elected to office. For, as we have so often been told in this Conference, on the man depends the success of the measure. And this end, also, will be promoted by a general interest of women in municipal affairs. Men accept the inevitable more or less good-naturedly. But women are naturally irreconcilables. They will not admit that what they disapprove *is* inevitable. Therefore, they constantly achieve the impossible. All the red tape of the British Empire bound the slender hands of Florence Nightingale in the Crimea. She slipped it off, without a misgiving, to open the doors of the Government storehouses to the starving and freezing soldiers. You remember how, in our own war, Mother Bickerdyke was told that it was "impossible" to give out supplies to the sick and wounded for want of the proper requis-

tions. "I guess NOT!" she said, with eyes aflame, and gave them out. You know that Miss Schuyler, and Mrs. Lowell and Mrs. Kinnicut have done in New York what New York officials assured them could not be done, and nobody has forgotten how many impracticable things women accomplished for the Chicago Exposition. These familiar facts exemplify a feminine characteristic which would prove of much value in civic affairs. It seems probable, from the woman's point of view, that when women know somewhat more of these affairs, studying them because good municipal administration is absolutely necessary—as a condition of economical, healthful and beautiful home life—then men will be moved to achieve the impossible, also, and municipal offices will be filled by honest men—gentlemen, in whatever rank of life they may happen to have been born, or whatever occupation they may chance to follow.

It has been often said that good municipal government is good housekeeping outside one's own door. It is more than this, but it is this. The definition is correct, as far as it goes. A well-governed city like a well-governed house, must be cleanly, orderly, economical and beautiful. If there is anything in heredity, anything in ages of special training, women ought to bring a special capacity to such a task, and therefore, this inherited capacity should be enlisted. Certainly they would contribute two qualities which it is the fashion to decry, but which are of immense value when old things are to be made new—the qualities of hope and enthusiasm. Perhaps the greatest lack of my own city is homes. We have no room for them on our little strip of land, two miles wide and eight or nine miles long. Our worst tenement-house districts harbor, it is said, two hundred and seventy thousand families. So that two-thirds of our population pass their lives in premises rented in common with others, wretched, unwholesome, and often not improvable. Where the homes of workingmen are degraded, there must be moral decadence. Therefore, from the woman's point of view, good municipal government cannot be secured in my own city until first we reconstruct our system of tenement houses, and second,

until a greater New York offers the hospitality of a home to her poorer citizens. The evil of drinking is responsible for the greater part of the crime and degradation of the poor. But since dirt, bad air and poor food insure a taste for liquor, legislation is of little use without an improvement in these conditions. Therefore, from the woman's point of view, good citizenship depends largely on the freer circulating of fresh air and of soap and water, and upon a propaganda of wholesome, cheap food, spread among the wives and daughters of workingmen by apostles of this new gospel. But ignorance, also, is destructive of citizenship. And so the public schools—first, last and always the public schools—must be made the nurseries of civic virtue, beginning with the *kindergartens*, that from babyhood the child may learn to recognize the rights of others, as well as his own, and ending in free public libraries, that shall feed intelligence and patriotism in the child grown to manhood.

When these things are done a hundred other needful things remain to do. But without these primary conditions of health, decency and intelligence, the wrestle with our modern civic problems seems to women hopelessly unequal. The periodical uprisings against ring power do little more than send a great blast of north wind through our ill-ventilated municipal house.

From the woman's point of view, then, an important step towards good government in cities is the thorough enlistment of the help of women, since this is the only great unused force waiting to be tried. And next, and as a corollary of this utilization, an attacking of our difficulties on the moral side. Politics have been proved an inadequate means to our end. If

Civilization doos git forrud
Sometimes upon a powder-cart,

it gets on faster by means of rapid transit, decent homes, public parks and attractive schools. Most of our cities are growing very splendid in their finer sections. Of your hospitable Cleveland, gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce, you may well be proud. Washington and Boston assume a noble dignity, and something may be said for the awakening sense of beauty even

in my own heterogeneous town. It is very hopeful. And yet, from the woman's point of view, old Epictetus pointed out the straight way to municipal success when he said, "You will confer the greatest benefits on your city, not by raising its roofs, but by exalting its souls."

CIVIC RELIGION.

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The mention of religion as one of the elements of municipal reform is likely to awaken dissent. "Religion," it will be said, "has no place in our discussions. The subject can only lead to fruitless controversy. Church and state must be kept wholly apart. The work of securing better city government is a work in which religion can give us no aid."

This may be true, but let us not too hastily admit it. In the olden time it was supposed that religion was an essential element in the life of a city. The sites of many cities were fixed by the use of distinctively religious rites; the founding of the city was a religious solemnity. "As the city was the highest unit in the political conception of the Greeks," says Dr. Jebb, "so each colony contained within itself the essentials of a complete political life. Its relation to the parent city was one of filial piety, not of constitutional dependence. In so far as the cult of the gods and heroes whom it worshiped was localized in the mother country, it was needful that a link should exist between the religious rites of the colony and those of its parent; and this religious continuity was symbolized by the sacred fire which the founder carried with him from the public hearth to the new settlement."

In the old Roman world the colleges of the Augurs and the Pontifices played a large part in the government of the city, and the functions of the chief magistrate were distinctively religious. And when the monarchy was abolished the Consul succeeded to many of the religious prerogatives of the King; though there was a *Pontifex Maximus*, the Consul himself "offered prayer and sacrifices for the community and in its name ascertained the will of the gods with the aid of those skilled in sacred lore." And Guizot tells us that "in the cities of Greek or Roman origin, in

most of the ancient cities of Gaul, the magistracies, the religious and civil functions were united. The same men, the chiefs of families, alike possessed them. It was, as you know, one of the great characteristics of Roman civilization that the patricians were at the same time priests and magistrates within their own house. There was not there a body especially devoted, like the Christian clergy, to the religious magistracy. The two powers were in the same hands."

Religion was, then, an integral part of the life of a city in the olden time. It was not merely harbored and protected by the city; the administration of religion was just as much a municipal function as was the administration of law; religion was regarded as the very heart of the municipal organism.

Do we say that we have changed all that? Perhaps we have, but are we quite sure that the change is altogether for the better? Was there not an eternal truth underlying those old conceptions—a truth which we despise at our peril? Can any city be well governed without making large appeal to motives and principles which are properly termed religious?

Let me be understood. I do not wish to see the establishment, or the recognition by the municipality, of any religious organization now existing, or of any combination of such organizations. I do not want to see churches or sects of any sort, Jews or Gentiles, Protestants or Roman Catholics, getting possession of the city offices, or directing the policy of the city. When an organization of religionists attempts anything of this kind—undertake to push its own sectarian interests by the possession and use of the municipal machinery, the popular rebuke can never be too prompt or too energetic.

Nor do I wish to see the municipality making provision out of its revenues for the support or assistance of any institution under the care or direction of any religious body. It is plain that the civil community cannot take *all* such institutions under its patronage, nor can it discriminate among them. It can only impartially let them all alone.

Nor am I concerned for the maintenance of religious forms

and ceremonies in connection with civic functions. Unless the persons in whose presence these acts of worship are performed themselves heartily wish for them and reverently participate in them, I would abolish them at once.

Nor am I in favor of the enforcement, by the city, of any religious observance of the first day of the week. Sunday legislation ought not to rest upon a religious basis. If a rest day is needful for the preservation of the health and welfare of the community, that observance may be enforced by the majority against the greed of the few who would turn the abstinence of the rest from labor into a special opportunity of gain for themselves. The liberty of rest for the many can only be secured by a law of rest for all. And if it is evident that the open saloon does the community more damage on Sunday than on any other day of the week, then the community has a better reason for shutting it up on Sunday than on other days. But such ordinances as these have absolutely nothing to do with religion. The maintenance of any kind of religious observance by force of law is contrary alike to the spirit of democracy and to the spirit of Christianity. The civic religion for which these words are pleading is nothing of this kind.

Those ancient cities, whose founders bore the sacred fire so carefully over stormy seas, what was the heart of their religion? Was it not this—that they believed their communities to be somehow invisibly linked to an unseen realm; that they felt themselves to be under the inspiration and guidance of the gods and heroes who had passed beyond their sight? The unseen realm was the realm of the ideal. The society below was in constant contact and communication with a perfect society above, and the guiding lights of that upper world were unveiled to faithful watchers here below. This is the essence of religion; it is faith in the unseen, in the ideal. Of course, the ideal is never visible to the eye of sense. It is the mind's eye that sees it always. It is not the thing that is, it is the thing that may be and ought to be. And the true civic religion is that which beholds by the eye of faith the city that ought to be and shall be, and that looks and

works for the day when it shall stand upon the earth. John, in the apocalyptical vision, saw a New Jerusalem—a holy city—descending out of heaven from God to earth. "It was," says Professor Drummond, "no strange apparition, but a city which he knew. It was Jerusalem, a new *Jerusalem*. The significance of that name has been altered for most of us by religious poetry; we spell it with a capital N, and speak of the New Jerusalem as a synonym for heaven. Yet why not take it as it stands as a new Jerusalem? Try to restore the natural force of the expression; suppose John to have lived to-day and to have said London—'I saw a new London.' Jerusalem was John's London. All the grave and sad suggestions that the word London brings up to-day to the modern reformer, the word Jerusalem recalled to him. What in his deepest hours he longed and prayed for was a new Jerusalem, a reformed Jerusalem. And just as it is given to the man in modern England who is a prophet, to the man who believes in God and in the moral order of the world, to see a new London shaping itself through all the sin and chaos of the city, so was it given to John to see a new Jerusalem rise from the ruins of the old. * * * This city, then, which John saw is none other than your city, the place where you live, as it might be and, as you are to help to make it. It is London, Boston, New York, Paris, Melbourne, Calcutta—these as they might be, and in some infinitesimal degree as they have already begun to be. In each of them and in every city throughout the world to-day, there is a city descending out of heaven from God. Each one of us is daily building up this city or helping to keep it back. Its walls rise slowly, but as we believe in God, the building can never cease.

This, then, is what I mean by civic religion. It is a recognition of the fact that for every society there is an ideal—that is to say, a divine, social order; it is the attempt to discern and to realize that—to bring the life of the city below into harmony with the law of the perfect city not made with hands which hangs above it in the sky. To believe in the great possibilities of a noble civic life; to fasten our thought upon them; to see that

this must be what the "Power"—not ourselves—that makes for righteousness is working for, and that it is our great privilege to be co-workers with him; to kindle our souls with the enthusiasm of these hopes—this is what I mean by civic religion.

All great and worthy work is done under the inspiration of ideals. The sculptor is looking, not at the things that are seen, but at things that are unseen when he calls the angel out of the marble block. The musician is listening to voices that were never heard on land or sea when he indites the symphony. The architect beholds the temple in the air before he builds it upon the earth. And we to whom the larger, fairer, diviner task is given of building the city—not merely the streets and parks, the warehouses and shops and halls and homes, but the institutions, customs, laws in which its civic life is manifested—must needs lift our thoughts to realms above ourselves that the pattern of the structure we are to build may be revealed to us.

The city that might be—the city that ought to be—this is the object of our faith, of our devotion. What might this city of ours—this New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Columbus—what might it be, what ought it to be—how clean and bright and safe and healthful; how free from everything that could hurt or defile or destroy; how full of everything that could minister to the comfort and convenience and culture and happiness of the citizens; its laws how wisely and impartially administered; its burdens how equitably adjusted; its curse, how swift and deadly upon all who seek to make spoil of its revenues; its officers, how diligent, how conscientious, how self-denying in the public service; its citizens, how prompt to respond to the call of the community; its property-holders, how ready each to bear his portion of the public burden; its helpless wards, how tenderly cared for; its beggars and parasites, how sternly compelled to eat their own bread; its whole life, how instinct with justice and truth and righteousness, how vital with mercy and good will! This is the city which is coming down out of heaven from God—coming as fast as we make room for it. It comes very slowly, because there are so few who believe in it, and look for it, and

make ready for it; according to our faith it must be unto us. For just as soon as the people begin to believe in a city like this it will be here in all its glory. Nothing hinders its coming—nothing in the world—but our want of faith. Is it not true that the one thing needful is a little more of genuine civic religion?

Never until some such ideal as this takes possession of the thought of the people, and kindles their enthusiasm, shall we have good government in our cities. Men must have something to believe in, to love, to be loyal, to fight for; and it is always the ideal that inspires heroism and devotion. A national idea we have; the prosiest American has some conception of it. It was the nation that might be, the nation that ought to be, that kindled the ardors of revolutionary patriotism; that Sam Adams and Patrick Henry plead for, and that Washington and Prescott and Stark, and Greene fought for; it was the nation that ought to be that Meade's army saved from death upon the heights of Gettysburg and that Lincoln crowned there with his immortal words. It has not been the actual nation, with its broken promises and its lame purposes and its piggish politics, that has inspired an ardor of patriotism; the nation that we live for, and are ready to die for, is the one to whom we cry:

"Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith, triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,—are all with thee."

It is only because there is an ideal nation to which our love and loyalty can be given that patriotism exists. It is to be feared that such a conception is scarcely entertained in relation to the life of many of our cities. What we are constrained, for want of a better term, to call municipal patriotism hardly has a name to live. There is, indeed, in some cases, not a little local pride; but not much thought of the city as invested with a character and life of its own; as a kind of moral personality toward which one might cherish a loyal love. What is a city? We are told that it is a corporation. Well, I am afraid that that is just about all there is of it in the minds of many of us. Such a soulless entity

can inspire no love, can call forth no loyalty. It is something that the legislature has created, and we are not generally moved to worship the work of such hands. The city is thus invested with a kind of legal, formal, artificial character, and there is nothing that appeals to our higher sentiments. These frigid conceptions must be put away from our minds. It may be useful, for some purposes, to consider the city as a corporation; but unless it is vastly more than that to the great body of its citizens, its history will not be an inspiring one. It seems to me that there ought to be something in the civic life of a great city which admits of idealization; something that appeals to the imagination of the citizen; something that inspires in him a genuine devotion. Can we not think of the city in which we live as becoming, more and more, a great social organism, bound together by bonds that are not wholly economic—by human sympathies and interests; with a character to develop and a destiny to fulfill; moving steadily forward, under the influence of a righteous purpose, in the ways of peaceful progress, strengthening law, enlarging liberty, diffusing intelligence, promoting happiness, becoming, through the co-operative good will of its people, a mighty and benignant Providence to all who dwell within its walls? Are there not possibilities in the life of these cities of ours that can make a man's heart glow with great hopes and high enthusiasms?

On what forces do we rely for the reformation of our municipal life? For the accomplishment of this work there must be motives. What are they? To what can we appeal?

We can appeal to the citizen's love of comfort and cleanliness; we can show him the filthy streets and the clogged sewers and tell him that such things ought not to be; we can awaken his fears of cholera; and such appeals have their place and are not ineffectual.

We can show him, no doubt, that under such government as he is permitting, there is a great lack of security for his person and his property; and that, also, is an influential motive.

What we do urge upon him most diligently, is the increase of the tax rate, and the fact that unless he is adroit enough to

hide his gains from the assessor, his profits will be greatly reduced by the growth of taxation. This is the motive on which we chiefly rely. Municipal reform, in the conception of nine men out of ten, is the reduction of the tax rate. Well, that is not an insignificant matter; it ought to be duly considered, and it will be; there is no danger that it will be overlooked.

But can we draw from all these considerations an adequate motive power for the work of thoroughly reforming the governments of our cities? Will the craving for comfort, and the fear of contagion, coupled with the wish for a reduction of taxes, call forth an energy and a unity of popular feeling which will achieve the glorious work? It seems to me that they reckon ill who put their trust in such forces. Down on this plane, pottering with such motives, we shall find our structure crumbling under our hands; any gains that we make in one direction will be neutralized by losses in another. Unless we can find something higher and nobler than this to work for, our labor will be as the task of Sisyphus.

We sometimes hear it said that the one thing needful is the administration of the municipality on business principles. In a certain narrow sense this saying may be justified. We ought to have a methodical, economical administration, of course; we ought to insist on getting money's worth for our taxes. But other than business principles must control our people and their representatives in office, else we shall continue to have precisely what we have had. The trouble with our citizens—our best citizens—has always been that they have quite too much inclined to base their civic action upon "business principles." They have always wanted to buy the benefits of good municipal government in the cheapest market and to sell them in the dearest. Their problem has been to get just as much as possible for themselves out of the city and to give just as little as possible in return for it—of time, of money, of sacrifice. So long as this is the prevailing purpose of the citizens, it will be the prevailing purpose of their representatives in office; business principles will control their conduct; office will be to them an opportunity of gain, and

they will make what they can out of it. I think it is time that we began to see that good government calls for some higher principles on the part of the citizens than what we describe as business principles.

It calls for the recognition of civic ideals; for a vision that can discern not merely the city that stands upon the earth, but the fairer city which is coming down from heaven to earth, after whose pattern the earthly forms must be continually reshaped. There is just as much need in the city as in the nation of cherishing an ideal of liberty, of purity, of perfection; of leaving the things that are behind, and stretching forth unto the things that are before; of cultivating a generous faith and a high enthusiasm. There is need of thinking much of a kind of civic life that is not yet, but that might be, and that ought to be, and that must be if there is a God in heaven; a city whose officers shall be peace and whose exactors righteousness; a city whose homes shall be sacred and secure; whose traffic shall be wholesome and beneficent; whose laborers shall go forth to their cheerful toil unburdened by the heavy hand of legalized monopolies; whose laws shall foster no more curses, nor open the gates to whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie; whose streets shall be full of happy children, playing in safety and learning the great lessons of civic piety, and whose citizens on any shore shall find their thoughts turning homeward with a great longing, while they cry:

"If I forget thee, O city of my heart!
Let my right hand forget her cunning;
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth
If I remember thee not,
If I prefer thee not
Above my chief joy."

THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR SOCIETIES IN BEHALF OF BETTER CITIZENSHIP.

JOHN WILLIS BAER, BOSTON, MASS.,
SECRETARY, UNITED SOCIETIES OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

President Francis E. Clark, D. D., at the Twelfth International Christian Endeavor Convention, held at Montreal, in July, 1893, fired the first Christian citizenship gun that was heard around the Christian Endeavor world. He said: "Let me go so far as to suggest two or three 'larger things' for the year to come, which I believe may well occupy the thoughts, the prayers, the energies of all Endeavorers. One of these advance steps that we may take is the cultivation of a larger and more intelligent spirit of patriotism and Christian citizenship. How shall this be done? By all joining, as a society, some one political party? Not unless we know of some party that embraces all the saints and none of the rascals; one that is always right and never wrong. But, whether you are a Democrat or a Republican, a Third-party man or a Populist, a Blue or a Grit, it can be done by bringing your vote and your influence—for your influence, fair Endeavorers, is often as powerful as your brother's vote—to the test of the Christian Endeavor pledge. You have promised in that to do whatever He would like to have you do; then vote as He would like to have you vote; then you will not knowingly vote for a bad man or a bad measure; and if need be, you will sacrifice your party rather than your principles. When politicians realize that men with principles are watching their nominations, they will not dare to put up a bad man for your suffrage, for they will realize what so many of the secular papers expressed last summer, after that wonderful convention in New York City, that there is a new moral force in this country

that must be reckoned with. Go to the primaries of your party, and take your Christian Endeavor pledge with you. Go to the caucus; get into the legislature; stand for Congress or for Parliament; but, when you get there, for God and the church and your country do what He would like to have you do."

At the last annual Christian Endeavor Convention, held last July, in this beautiful, hospitable city of Cleveland, President Clark's annual address contained these ringing words: "Again, Christian Endeavorers, strike once more for good citizenship. Right nobly have you rallied around this standard during the past year. From East and West and North and South has come the good news—Christian Endeavor stands for the election of good men, for the enactment of good laws, for sturdy and steady opposition to the saloon, the gambling hell, the lottery, the violation of the Sabbath. It stands by such men as Charles H. Parkhurst, and every kindred spirit in every political party that seeks to purify politics and to make this Immanuel's land. I congratulate you that none of you have been cajoled into making our organization the tail of any political kite. To be a Christian Endeavorer does not mean that one is necessarily a Republican, or a Democrat, or a Populist, or a Third-party man, a Tory or a Liberal. It does mean that he is necessarily a good citizen, and that he will exert every ounce of his influence, to whichever sex he belongs (if the young men will excuse the generic pronoun), for the right. While Tammany flourishes in New York, and open gambling in Chicago, and licensed prostitution in New Orleans, and the Louisiana Lottery has moved only across the street to Honduras, the outlook is dark. It is dark, but not hopeless. Thank God for the year's work! But you have only struck once, Endeavorers. Strike again, and again, and again, until, if Christ should come to Chicago, or New York, or Toronto, or San Francisco, He will find clean streets, and clean city halls, and clean men in them, with never a brothel or a dive to pollute the air that He should breathe." Ten months have passed since those words were spoken, and I am glad to report that the Christian Endeavor campaign for Christian citizenship

has cultivated a greater and more intelligent spirit of patriotism everywhere.

In Wisconsin the following petition was circulated, signed and sent to the Senate and Assembly of that state: "We, electors and citizens of Wisconsin, do earnestly petition your honorable body to adopt the following measures, as a public necessity to good government in our beloved commonwealth: A pure politics act, making it a penal offense for candidates for municipal, county or state offices to offer money or official rewards for votes or the procuring of votes; and to compel political committees to account under oath for the receipts and disbursement of funds contributed for campaign purposes." "No license" was carried in Madison and at Janesville, the young women, and may their number increase, systematically urged every male friend and acquaintance to attend the primaries of his party.

In the far state of Washington, a clean reform ticket was supported in Spokane and saloons closed on Sunday in Walla Walla. Florida reports a year of educational work and seven district organizations. At Orlando pledged attendance of voters at the primaries was secured. California has taken a stand against the open Sunday saloons in her great cities and vigorous is the battle. In Iowa a Christian Endeavor Society at Shenandoah^o originated a bill which became an act to prohibit the sale or giving of tobacco to minors under sixteen and many societies have^d had copies of the bill posted conspicuously in hotels and stores. Kansas Endeavorers had a part in arousing a public sentiment that elected a legislature that in turn drove lotteries from within their borders, closed gambling places, made gambling a felony and strengthened the prohibitory liquor laws.

In a large number of towns in Illinois, the question of license or no license has been fought out successfully in the past two years. Much of the work has been done by Endeavorers. The "Humphrey bill," an iniquitous measure in the interests of the race-track gamblers, passed the Illinois Senate, but has been snowed under in the House by petitions and letters to the individual members, from all parts of the state, mostly the work of

Endeavorers. At Marengo, Ill., at the last two elections on license or no license, the Christian Endeavorers have secured the co-operation of all the churches, hired good speakers and won. At Champaign, Ill., the Christian Endeavorers prepared a bill for the legislature prohibiting saloons within four miles of any state educational institution and the Christian Endeavorers circulated petitions through the entire state. The bill is now before the legislature, and they think it will pass. In Missouri the particular battle has been for a better observance of the Sabbath. Kansas City has faced the open Sunday saloon and has stood for enforcement of laws regulating the drink traffic.

I find in going over the reports that have come to me from almost every large city in the land that there is a great similarity in work accomplished and methods employed. In some cities, like Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Brooklyn, New York, Cincinnati and others, mass meetings have been held and much done along educational lines that must bear fruit in the coming year. Watch fires are burning and beacon lights are being displayed the land over. I could weary you with further detailed report of work accomplished in Nebraska; in Indiana, particularly, the organized support of the Nicholson bill; in Texas, Delaware, Michigan and other states. Such work as securing five thousand and forty-seven signatures to a petition which was presented to the mayor of Rochester, N. Y., requesting him to enforce the Sunday liquor law.

Permit me to share with you nuggets gleaned from a report which comes to me of the work done in Syracuse, N. Y., by the Christian Endeavor Union. It will serve to show what can be done by one Christian Endeavor Union. Resolutions denouncing penny-in-the-slot machines, gambling houses, etc. (Doubtless without direct casual connection, but as a coincidence noticeable, within a month the mayor suppressed the machines, and the judges raided and fined the gamblers as not before in years.) Anti-lottery (Honduras) petitions circulated and forwarded to Congress; Local Union Good Citizenship Committee appointed, and all societies not having such committees urged to form one.

Sixty-eight saloonkeepers successfully petitioned the Common Council to pass an ordinance forbidding temperance night lunch wagons. Using its complete city organization the Local Union quietly, in a few days, secured three thousand signatures to the mayor to veto the ordinance. He did so, and the Common Council sustained him. During Fourth of July week, all Y. P. S. C. E. churches were asked to hold Good Citizenship prayer meetings. Nearly all the pastors on the following Sunday preached Good Citizenship sermons, which were printed in all the papers, and five thousand copies of a Good Citizenship circular were distributed in the city. The Common Council rejected J. B. Brooks, president of Y. M. C. A., as police justice. The Local C. E. Union quickly secured nineteen hundred names of citizens to the Council to confirm him. For weeks the matter was an exciting issue as to whether the police justice should be one acceptable to the law-abiding element. The Common Council were glad to get out of the matter by confirming another man, not to their satisfaction, but agreeable to the best citizens. In January, the Local Union, through two officers of the Union, quietly waited on the mayor and asked him to stop the illegal sale of liquor on Sunday. He promised to make an attempt. The city was surprised on two successive Sundays by systematic raids on saloons, the first for a very long time. Then the raids stopped. A Legislative Investigating Committee came to Syracuse, the mayor being the first investigated. He afterwards gave the investigation as a reason why the raids at the request of the Y. P. S. C. E. stopped. Meantime a temperance evangelist began work under the W. C. T. U. auspices in town. The Y. P. S. C. E. Local Union had also in the meantime voted to circulate a petition to the mayor to enforce the law. Not knowing what the Y. P. S. C. E. had done, the W. C. T. U. started a petition with which the Y. P. S. C. E. and churches heartily co-operated. Five thousand names were secured which were presented to the mayor, Monday, April 15, 1895, by representatives of the Ministers' Association, W. C. T. U. and president of the Y. P. S. C. E., with speeches. The mayor, in reply, said he would continue his

efforts to enforce the law. At a mass meeting of citizens, in the largest hall, Sunday P. M., April 7th, the president of the Y. P. S. C. E. offered resolutions calling on the mayor to "Stop the illegal Sunday sale and keep it stopped." The Local Union, in ways best known to itself, is accumulating evidence as to violation of law as to disorderly houses and other forms of law-breaking.

I cannot close my paper without referring to the very excellent record of the young people of Newark, N. J., and vicinity. You will find upon investigation that in that city there is a keen appreciation of municipal obligations, a familiarity with the machinery of municipal government. The Christian Endeavor and other young people's societies have declared their principles. Here are some of them:

"The Union shall strive to remove from the city all temptations to vice not lawfully permitted, and to effect the repeal of all legislation by which such temptations are permitted; shall attempt to check the purchasing of votes and other abuses connected with the ballot box; shall urge Christian people to attend the primaries of their parties and insist upon the nomination for office of men who are in sympathy with the object of this organization; shall submit to the proper authorities evidence to convict officials who are recreant to the trusts confided to them by the people; shall collect, for the convenience of pastors and the information of the Christian public, important data concerning the moral and religious condition of the city, the same to be given out at the discretion of the union. It shall oppose the infringement by private enterprises or that of corporations upon the safety of life or limb or the welfare of the people. The Union declines to endorse any political party or support any independent nomination for office. The Union hopes to accomplish these results by no hasty or spasmodic attempt at reform; but by arduous, cautious and relentless effort, and requests the aid of good citizens in the furtherance of its principles."

I must not close without mentioning the fact that through *The Golden Rule*, the international organ of Christian Endeavor,

once a month a systematic study of citizenship has been conducted by Prof. Graham Taylor. Citizenship clubs have been organized and the various departments of education, temperance, literature, relief, arousing public sentiment, expressing public sentiment in petitions and meetings, putting forward good men and measures and defeating bad ones in the primaries, at the polls and in the Councils of city and state, enforcing laws already gained, strengthening the hands of honest officials and exposing corruption, have all been emphasized and brought to the attention of thousands and thousands of readers. The result has been good, but what has been done gives good promise of better plans and work in the future.

You will excuse me for taking further time. I hope what I have stated will in some degree assist you all to see that Christian Endeavor is to be a mighty force in securing better government. Dr. Parkhurst said in Boston not long since: "I was very much interested in what a prominent politician of my own city said the other day about the Christian Endeavor movement. He said, 'It is becoming an influence that will yet work a complete revolution in the state of New York.' 'But it is not a political organization at all,' said his friend. To this the politician replied that 'the society will have all the greater influence on that very account.'"

That politician was right. These two million and a half of young people are not going to band themselves into any political organization or party or movement, but they are as individuals, going to stand for a more intelligent spirit of patriotism and Christian citizenship everywhere. Their warfare has been fearlessly waged. One young life has been sacrificed at the polls. But Bat Shea's victim, Robert Ross, of Troy, cruelly murdered at the voting booth doing his duty, still lives, and we press on over his body to catch his spirit, determined in the right to put to flight Bat Sheas everywhere, whether it be in Troy, Boston, Chicago, New York or in the remotest hamlet over which the stars and stripes swings its peaceful folds. God save America!

A LOGICAL SYSTEM OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

C. C. P. CLARK, M. D., OSWEGO, N. Y.

There is not a city in this land that does not go to the legislature every year or two to have its charter mended. So great a variety of administrative construction has resulted that it is doubtful whether the ingenuity of man can devise anything in that line that has not already been somewhere tried, and that more than once. All the same we have not a single city, from the smallest to the largest, from Spokane, in the youthful West, to Rutland in old Vermont, that does not loudly and justly complain of incompetence and maladministration in the conduct of its proper business.

These being admitted facts, I know not what good any reasonable man can look for from still pursuing those lines of so-called reform which have proved so constantly futile, or worse than futile. In my own opinion, any city you please has got a charter good enough, if only it were officered by honest and capable functionaries. To put the right man in the right place is the great and fundamental problem of politics in whatever sphere; and until, and unless, a way be devised to do this, all the struggles of the prevailing dissatisfaction will continue hereafter to prove as idle as they have confessedly been heretofore. It is to the solution of this problem, as it presents itself in cities, that I address myself. But before we undertake the cure of an ailment, we must ascertain the seat and the cause of the disease. The seat can only be in our election system, for it is through the polls that all our high responsible officers get into power, the lower sort, through the favor and appointment of these. But why do not the people now elect good men? There is no law to hinder

them; and certainly nine out of ten want nothing else but good government, and good officers as the means to it.

The universal answer to this inquiry will be "that politicians, collected into party organizations, obstruct their way by making bad nominations." And certain it is that these organizations now exercise, and have long exercised, an absolute domination over the selection of public officers and thereby over the administration of the public business. Here then, you say, is the real root of all our trouble. By no means; we have not got to the bottom yet. This explanation only sets the question a step farther back. The real problem is: What is it that has enabled politicians to substitute their personal and selfish purposes for the public will, to steal from us the management of our own affairs, and make us do the things they would not?

On what foundation does political organization stand that it so parcels out, like the prime minister of a nominal sovereign, all public function, leaving to the majesty of the people only to sign its mandates? Through what loophole, in the relation of the people to the helm of power, has this monstrous usurper made his way? Evidently it must be looked for somewhere in our own election system, for it is only through this that the purposes of the people are connected with the helm of state.

Now what is the present election law, in its application, for instance, to the choice of public magistrates in this city? The law says: "Citizens, go to the polls on such a day and say whom you want for mayor, and whom for alderman," and so on. That is all there is of the law, in substance and in spirit. But now mark, suppose that nothing else should be done, nothing anticipatory, no general conferences held or wide combinations made, and no tickets prepared, what would be the inevitable result? Would it not be that your votes most often would be so scattered that no man would receive even a decent plurality of them, and that some loud fanatic, active demagogue, or man of one idea, just then by chance on exhibition to the simple minded, would head the poll for the chief magistracy of the city? Certainly, while many citizens would be well fit for the place, most rarely

would it happen that public favor would spontaneously unite on any single one of them. Now, it is in this diversity and dispersion of public opinion, and the necessity of assembling and centering it upon single individuals as candidates for office, in short, this necessity of making nominations that political and party organization had its origin. It sprang into life, at first in irregular and feeble forms, in every part of the country the moment that the personality of revolutionary characters had ceased to control the politics of the people. With time it has strengthened and matured till now every high officer of federal, state and municipal government, with only the rarest exceptions, is *selected*—mark the word—in its privy councils. A few individuals, and often a single man, has in his hands the officering of our governments in every sphere. To the people is left, at the most, only a choice between two, or possibly three or four. They *elect*—mark again the word—but never *select* their rulers.

Thus the law, which meant to give the *selection* of public functionaries directly to the people, has become a dead letter, because what it proposes is an impossibility—I mean in all those constituencies where the number of voters is too great for them to assemble and hold orderly conference, as in a town meeting. Power has been yielded up to party politicians, because their principles of organization are founded on reason and the limitations of human nature, while the present law is not. *Nor can that power ever be taken from them until the people are organized on similar lines.* Let us see how this can be done—done in this city.

Now the whole scheme of party organization rests on two irrefragible principles: First, that when men are to act in unison toward the accomplishment of a common object, such as the selection of a public functionary, it is absolutely necessary that they should hold conference together; and, second, that where the number is too great for such conference to be well held in a personal assembly of them all, they must be divided up for the purpose of such conference into sections, and finish their work by delegation. Here we have the party conference, or caucus,

through which, whether fraudulent or fair, the popular will can alone find expression, and the convention, in which so far as the choice of the party is concerned, its work is in effect completed; what follows at the polls being even now but a form, or, at most, a test of the comparative strength of the candidates. Now can any man have witnessed or heard about the constant and successful operation for long years of this method of organizing and centering the will and choice of each of the two halves of the general public without seeing and confessing that it is the method of nature and necessity; and that only by applying it to the whole body of the people can the domination of parties and politicians be shaken off?

Let us consider how such application can be best made in such a city as this, with the sole object of organizing the major purposes of the whole body of voters. It is the practice of politicians, I believe, to make their caucus districts coextensive and coincident with election districts. But there are several fatal objections to this geographical boundary. In many cases, especially in our growing cities, it would need to be often changed, and even then the absolute equality in numbers between the districts which is necessary to the ascertainment and rule of the majority must be impossible. Besides, these changes of boundary would give room for gerrymandering and for colonization by politicians, while, on the other hand, its permanency would facilitate their operations like the map of an engineer.

A better way has been devised, which secures a full coincidence of numbers and power, excludes the possibility of every form of fraud, and effects a just mixture of the various influences and personalities which constitute political society. We proceed now to establish a municipal government in accordance with the organized and major will of the people. 1. Let the names of all the voters in a ward be deposited in a panel, publicly drawn therefrom one by one in the presence of the proper authorities, and distributed as they are drawn into equal lots or companies of not more than two hundred and fifty each. 2. Each of these lots shall constitute a primary constituency, shall be assembled

in strict privacy by personal notice to each of its members, and, organized like a town meeting, proceed to select from among the voters of the ward, but not of its own number, and by the vote of a majority of those present, a representative elector. 3. The electors so chosen in each ward being duly assembled in public session shall select and appoint the alderman and other officers of the ward. 4. The electors chosen in all the wards of the city shall, also in public session, elect the mayor and other elective officers of the city at large. 5. These proceedings are to be repeated every second year. 6. Any officer of a ward or of the city, including representative electors, may be summarily removed by the power to which he owes his office.

Thus, though it is impossible for all the voters in a city to take part in directly selecting their civic officers, they may all have a part in choosing those who shall select them. These are the essential principles of my system; regulations of detail are omitted. That is all, and, save in the far better method of constituting the primary, it is strictly on the lines of that party organization which by its spontaneous birth, its universal prevalence in our own country and its successful invasion of Great Britain, and wherever else the rule of the people gets footing, has demonstrated itself to be the natural logical, and only possible method of organizing public opinion or the public will.

A word in regard to the meeting of the primary assemblies, and the limitation of their choice. First, it is by no means necessary that they should all be assembled on the same day. No matter if these elections run through a month if there should be any lack of suitable halls in which to hold them. In the next place it is deemed very important to have the primary choose its representative from outside itself. This would give a wider field, a selection from the body of the ward would be equally representative, and, more important still, we would not have to discuss a man before his face.

In this caucus there will be no possibility of fraud, that working politicians will not be needed, and will be reduced to the level of other men, and that the people will be put in the

actual possession of power and will in effect *select*—not merely make an *election* between two candidates as now—but select from among all their neighbors the man whom they prefer as their official representative. Partisanship will at once disappear, it can hardly be doubted, for all agree that it will have no honest business there. That they will choose a good man, though not always the best, no one will doubt who believes in popular government.

And indeed I have never heard but one honest question raised in regard to this matter. It has been queried by some timid souls, so long subject to the rule of ambitious and self-seeking politicians that they have come almost to look upon them as their heaven-appointed masters—a few such have raised the question whether the same men who managed and corrupt the present caucus would not do the same with my fair, independent and self-ordered assembly. To this I answer that they can do this only by winning to their wishes a majority of its members, which if they can do this they certainly have good right to rule. But they cannot do it, because there will be no opportunity for fraud or indirection of any sort, any more than there is in a town meeting; and are not all the thousands of townships in the land well governed and by their best men? Politicians do not now rule by the favor of the majority, but by the activity and cunning of a few hirelings, and by having the organization. The mass of us accept the nominations of one party or the other because the law now provides us with no way of making our own, and because the ordinary citizen has in view no sufficient future compensation, in office, contract or other advantage, to induce him as a volunteer to do the work and spend the time and money year after year that are necessary to help collect, organize and perpetuate a party of his own. This last consideration supplies the true explanation why the best organized efforts towards reform, such as the divorcement of municipal elections from party politics, so constantly fade out so soon—as, I confidently predict, must all the public-spirited and zealous organizations represented here to-day unless by the

change of election methods here proposed they first place the will of the people on that base on which the power of politicians now securely rests.

This scheme is not now presented for the first time. It was first published full twenty years ago, and was widely circulated through the favor of the late philosopher and philanthropist, Peter Cooper, of New York, who left it in his autobiography that he "deemed he could do no better service to his country than to disseminate it among thinking men and legislators." And so highly and universally was it approved of by the best intelligence of the country (as I have the evidence to show), that in my simplicity and enthusiasm I fully expected it to be somewhere set in operation forthwith. But year after year went by and nobody stirred, partly, no doubt, for the proverbial reason that "what is everybody's business is nobody's," but principally because the introduction of so radical a change in the vital knot of popular government seemed an undertaking of incredible difficulty.

Three years ago I determined to attempt its introduction into the charter of the little city where I live; not that our municipal administration was so very bad, but because I believed, as I still believe, that a single example of its operation would ultimately convert the world; and I shall describe as briefly as possible my way of going to work and the degree of my success, together with my final failure and its cause. This I do, that you may see how easily the first part of the work may be done, and what is the single difficulty that must be surmounted toward the end.

I will begin by saying that my publication had been read and was approved of by some of my neighbors, but it had made no sensation among the people, and in fact was entirely unknown to the great body of them. Neither was there anything in my own career for the forty years I had lived in Oswego to give me more influence than any of you gentlemen might probably exercise at your home, although as a physician I was well known and sufficiently respected. In the first place, I went to the conductors of the two daily papers, told them I had a project to put

before the people, and asked them to publish whatever I should send them, and also any letters they might receive in regard to it, which I should undertake to reply to; to all which they readily agreed. In some cities this should be made strict matter of contract, even if something had to be paid for it, lest the influence of politics should close their columns against you. Then I prepared a succinct statement of what I proposed, with a few of the strongest reasons for the change, dwelling most on the fact that the delegates of the party caucus now in effect select all our elective officers, and that the kind of caucus or primary proposed in my plan would certainly be much better and would choose better men. I made no allusion to local conditions. All this I asked the reader to cut out and read again. To this I subscribed the names, with my own, of some half a dozen well and favorably known, or "leading" citizens, who had given their consent thereto. I also gave notice that petitions to the legislature in its favor would be placed for signature in certain places of resort, and, besides, that voters would be personally called on for their names. Finally I invited everybody to offer objections or ask explanations through the public prints. All this was done, and within six weeks the petitions bore the signatures of substantially the whole body of taxpayers, and a large majority of the voters of every sort. Not one man in twenty refused to sign it. Never before had there been so high an unanimous request sent to the capitol by any community. Only politicians withheld their names, nor all of them at first. No controversy was had in the public prints because no scrutiny could find anything to object to. The whole cost to me of the undertaking was very trifling, volunteers doing most of the work of circulating petitions. A bill to introduce the scheme into our city charter was then prepared and sent to our representatives in both houses of the legislature. Supported as it was they could not do otherwise than favor its passage, and it easily passed the Republican assembly, its peculiar character perhaps being little noticed, and it being the custom to trust local measures much to the discretion of the immediate representative. Then our hopes

were high, but they were soon dashed to the ground by an occurrence that furnishes the key to all that followed. I received a letter from Mr. Ainsworth, our member of assembly, informing me that Lieut.-Governor Sheehan, the then master of Democratic counsels at Albany, and president of the senate where the Democracy was in a majority, had come to him to say that it was of no use to send that Oswego bill to the senate, for it would not be allowed to go through, candidly giving as the reason that if Oswego got such a system of elections other cities would or might want it, "and there," he added, "what would become of us fellows?" On the receipt of this letter I both wrote to and visited Mr. Sheehan, and appealed to him as a brother Democrat, and with such arguments as I could conceive, to withdraw his opposition, but I found him obdurate and immovable. At the next meeting of the legislature both houses were Republican, the governor being still Democratic. Meantime I had become convinced that our immediate Republican representatives were at heart just as hostile to the measure as the Lieut.-Governor himself, and for the same reason, and would assist its passage only on compulsion. Among the proofs of this was the fact that all our petitions and other papers had disappeared. These, however, were soon replaced. Again the bill went through the house of assembly, almost without notice, it having been arranged by our representatives that the contest over it should be had in the senate. Here too it passed by a single vote on a party division, but only after the most bitter and strenuous opposition to it by Tammany and its allies. When it came before the governor we strengthened our case by letters to him in its favor from nigh every prominent man in Oswego of either party, but he vetoed it on the absurd and pretended grounds that "it was a step backward," "aristocratic," and "a copy of British and other old world methods," but really because the Democratic organizers told him he must. Had he not hoped for a renomination by them I think he would have signed the bill, for I believe he is as honest as a politician can afford to be.

The late session of the legislature found the Republican

party in possession of everything at Albany, and if one were to judge from the surface history of the treatment our bill had received there he would anticipate its speedy and easy enactment into law. But such was little my expectation, for I had long been satisfied that between the spirit and motive of those who controlled the two parties there was only the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. I had indeed made up my mind that my measure was allowed to pass the preceding Republican legislature only because its veto by the governor was confidently counted on. And accordingly I was not disappointed when Mr. Ainsworth, our own immediate representative, and also a Republican leader of the house, wrote me on receiving from me again the bill, that I had better save myself trouble, "for the bill could never pass this legislature."

I relate this little story simply because it abundantly demonstrates that politicians easily see, and in their action confess, that the system of election that I have now described is, in itself, an organization of the people, and that where once put in operation it would swallow up their party machines as did the righteous rod of Moses the false serpents of old Nile. These people care not how much you educate the people, or purify the ballot box, they will help you pass all the laws you phrase against gamblers and prostitutes, but they don't want a true conference of the people as here proposed to be framed into law, and substituted for that fraudulent or fictitious congregation of partisans over which they preside, and whose delegates, of one party or the other, have for more than fifty years selected every high public functionary.

But is there also another and sadder lesson to be drawn from my brief narrative? Must it be inferred that *no* city will be able to command from a legislature of politicians the permission to employ this system in the election of its magistrates? Not by any means. Oswego labored under infinite disadvantages. It has less than twenty-five thousand people. It has no representative of its own in either branch of the legislature, but

only a third of one, nor is it even able to control the nomination of one in either party.

From this resulted not only that neither at Albany nor on the stump were politicians afraid of our power, but also that the character of our undertaking attracted little attention from the public press. Hardly in a single newspaper did I see it correctly stated; but on the contrary it was generally reported that we proposed to choose our mayor and aldermen by casting lots! This ignorance was really simulated, and the hireling or enslaved partisan press made amends for its previous neglectfulness toward our scheme by its adulation of the governor for its veto. You would have thought the state had been saved from the maw of the Nemaean lion. No, if our city had the population, the representation, and the influence of Buffalo, Rochester or Syracuse—had it been such a city as this is where we are now assembled, we should have in operation to-day the method of election on which we had set our hearts. No again, the great truth that is to be learned from poor Oswego's case is that the system of election here proposed is so simple, and its advantages so obvious and so important, that the people at large understand, appreciate and eagerly ask for it the moment it is plainly presented to them. This would prove as true anywhere else as it did in Oswego. To present it in a simple form and in such a way as to ensure the attention of all of the voters, pointing out that its principles of operation are identical with those of that party organization which has shown itself to be all powerful because derived from nature itself and every necessity, and to point out how infinitely superior to that it is in the constitution of the primary assembly, making it general instead of partisan and giving it the panoply of law—this done and you will not fail to find the great body of the people—all indeed, who feel an honest interest in the public welfare, ready to sign your petitions.

Such unanimity in a city of mark no legislature will dare to resist. Nor need the whole business cost so much in money, time and trouble as the average expenditure of a congressman

to get elected. I know by actual experiment what I am speaking of.

There are hundreds of men in every city, who, singly and alone, can accomplish this task. To such, I offer the aid of my own experience, and of what else may flow from the constant study of the subject for many years.

LIST OF DELEGATES AT CLEVELAND CONFERENCE.

NEW YORK CITY CLUB.

James C. Carter, James W. Pryor, S. Carman Harriott, R. W. G. Welling,
Hon. Alfred R. Conkling.

PHILADELPHIA MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

George Burnham, Jr., Charles Richardson, Herbert Welsh, David Waller-
stein, Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

NATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE REFORM LEAGUE.

Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore; Lucius B. Swift, Indianapolis; William
E. Cushing, Cleveland.

MILWAUKEE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

John A. Butler, John F. Burke, Frank M. Hoyt, Francis B. Keene, Edward
K. West, Henry S. Eskuche.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Daniel Baily, C. O. Bassett, D. C. Caswell, Dr. W. E. Humiston, I. P.
Lampson.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF CIVICS.

James Barnett, Dexter B. Chambers, Hon. J. E. Ingersol, Clifford J. King,
Samuel Mather, Charles A. Post, H. A. Sherwin, Clinton Rogers Woodruff,
Philadelphia.

CLEVELAND CIVIC FEDERATION.

Hon. E. J. Blandin, Pres. Cady Staley, Rev. H. C. Haydn, D. D., Mrs. E. J.
Phinney, Rev. Levi Gilbert, W. R. Warner, Gen. H. J. Elwell, A. C. Caskey,
Charles F. Olney, Emil Joseph, Rev. L. L. Taylor.

PENNSYLVANIA CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Hon. William M. Kennedy, Allegheny; Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia;
Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

OHIO STATE BOARD OF COMMERCE.

Henry Perkins, Akron; Hon. E. J. Blandin, Cleveland; E. M. Thresher,
Dayton; L. S. Baumgardner, Toledo; Henry A. Griffin, Cleveland.

LORAIN, OHIO, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Hon. George Wickens, J. A. Coffinberry, John Stang, Charles N. Snyder,
C. L. Penney.

PHILADELPHIA WOMEN'S HEALTH PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

Mrs. Charles Richardson, Mrs. George Burnham, Jr., Mrs. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

NEW YORK CIVIC LEAGUE.

Mrs. Robert Abbe, Mrs. C. A. Runkle.

BALTIMORE REFORM LEAGUE.

Charles J. Bonaparte, William J. Dickey, Frederick W. Schultz.

MUNICIPAL CLUB OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Frank J. Amsden, John Bower, Joseph T. Alling, Isaac Adler.

CITY CLUB OF TROY, N. Y.

Montgomery G. Curtis, J. W. A. Cluett.

MASSILLON, OHIO, BOARD OF TRADE.

Otto E. Young, Hon. S. A. Conrad.

BROOKLYN LAW ENFORCEMENT SOCIETY.

George Frederick Elliott, Samuel S. Utter.

AKRON, OHIO, COMMERCIAL CLUB.

Joseph Hugill, W. C. Parsons.

BUFFALO COUNCIL OF CONFEDERATED GOOD GOVERNMENT CLUBS.

Frank M. Loomis, Frank F. Williams.

CAMDEN, N. J., COMMITTEE OF 100.

J. Alpheus Vansant, A. Anderson.

GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT CLUB OF LOUISVILLE, Ky.

F. N. Hartwell, John E. Norris.

DAYTON, OHIO, BOARD OF TRADE.

Hon. E. Morgan Wood, D. B. Wilcox.

CITIZENS' UNION OF BROOKLYN.

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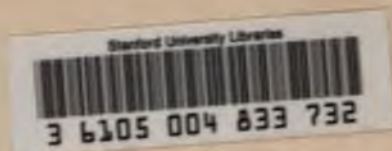
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